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/For additional information on the cultural history and foreign relations of the Ainu, see category 116, pp. 23-81/.

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THE AINU OF NORTHERN JAPAN

A Study in Conquest and Acculturation

TAKAKURA SHINICHIRŌ

Translated and Annotated by

JOHN A. HARRISON

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then if one imagines Maritime Northeast Asia as a large broken ellipse which resembles a vast parenthesis, the concept of streams of immigration to Japan becomes quite clear. One half of the curve of the ellipse is the Japanese archipelago and the island of Saghalien. The other semicircle, the continent of Asia from Korea to the mouth of the Amur River. The halves of the ellipse are joined by the Sea of Japan, but are open at the south to the Yellow Sea and at the north to the Okhotsk Sea. These seas were highroads over which bands of raiders and colonists crossed and those who came to the archipelago often had to struggle against those who had come before and then, in their turn, resist newcomers. Sometime around the beginning of the Christian era one group had secured so strong a position that it began to bring surrounding areas under a single rule. Then began the real conquest of the entire archipelago, a conquest not complete until fairly recent times.

In the course of the conquest and settlement of the main island of Honshu, Japanese military posts and

[Text continues bottom of P.4(B)--Analysis]

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agricultural settlements reached farther and farther north until by the end of the ninth century the Tsugaru Straits had been reached although not until the end of the twelfth century was the entire area of north Honshu pacified, while the great remaining frontier area of Hokkaidō was not brought under complete control until the nineteenth century. Yet while it took the Japanese centuries to consolidate their grip on the islands, and while this slow northward struggle had the most momentous consequences for the history of Japan, this frontier, with all it implied, often escaped the

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records or even was ignored by the historians. This is partly due to the fact that the last great campaigns were fought in the ninth century when history was only an official annals dominated by an inward looking court, and later due to the cavalier treatment usually given to great events which took place so far away from what was regarded as the only possible fount of history—the court at Kyoto and the area of Central Japan. Even in modern Japanese historiography—and the Japanese have been indefatigible historians—few men have approached the subject. It is as though in American

114 history the trans-Mississippi West were simply assumed
●175 and never studied in detail and as though there had never been a Turner or a Webb or a Bolton. Since pre-war official ideology had as much to do with this lack of regard for the frontier movement as did the difficulty of researching the subject, the end of the war has seen a movement toward restoring the history of the North to its rightful place and we now have, in *Ainu Seisaku Shi*, a carefully wrought major history of the final stage of the conquest, a work which tells us in detail not only of the penetration and settlement of the island of Hokkaidō but one which surveys the history and society of the last resistors to the pressure of
114 Japanese civilization. Takakura's history is therefore much more than "the history of native policy within colonial policy" that he modestly claims. It is a painstaking reliable analysis of a part of the history of Japan which had, for one reason or another, remained obscure until his labors. Furthermore, I regard his work as one which will never be duplicated for I doubt that ever again anyone will spend a lifetime aquiring the specialized knowledge of language, manuscripts, topography, and natives that he did. As a contribution to the history of Japan this is a pioneer study and as a study of the meeting of two cultures, of native and colonial policies, it is a valuable contribution to world literature on the subject. To his work Professor Takakura brought a rare spirit "of anger at the fact that, during my youth, it was apparant that nothing was being done to improve the lot of the Ainu . . . [but] as I pursued my studies . . . I came to realize that I could not solve this problem unless . . . I had an accurate understanding of its historical development." He began the first draft of his book in 1928 and completed it in 1936. He then spent twelve years in revision and in 1948 *Ainu Seisaku Shi* was published.

I read *Ainu Seisaku Shi* in 1950 as part of the work I was doing on the Japanese North. I continued my research until I concluded that only by living in Japan and having access to the materials could really sound research on this particular phase of Japanese history be done. This was out of the question and I realized that a good translation of Takakura would be of more value than any peripheral monograph I might turn out. I set to work on translating in 1953 and, devoting as much time to it as I could from teaching and from administrative tasks, I completed my revisions by 1957. The length of time taken was due in large measure to my concern that a complex subject should be made as clear as translation and my abilities permitted. This meant the solution of difficult passages that could not be glossed over; keeping within limits a gloss that could be as long as the text by incorporating it within the text, and finding accurate equivalents for many archaic and local Japanese words and for many native terms, some of which have no equivalent in Japanese. It would not have been possible to solve the final residue of seemingly untranslatable terms without the help of Professor

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Takakura who not only had encouraged me to undertake the translation but who, at the end, provided invaluable information on terminology.

Only the first 208 pages of the Japanese text plus the entire critical bibliography are translated. At the end of page 208 the history of the conquest comes to an end, Modern Japan is a land, and the remainder of the story is the sad and familiar one of well-meant but weak and unenforceable protection laws for the natives, native reservations, and the decline of a handful of thoroughly acculturated tourist attractions. As I have already noted I have made every attempt to avoid the esoteric or obscure in this translation. If those without Japanese are to gain from this work it will be because it is complete within itself, and is designed for those with an interest in the history and anthropology of Japan.

Because of my own interest in the subject the preparation of the translation was a labor of love, but there are several people without whose help it could not have been brought to completion and published. I wish to express my gratitude to Professor Takakura Shinichirō, a great scholar who helped in the most cheerful manner when called upon; to Professor Ide Yoshimitsu of Tōkyō University who undertook to check doubtful passages against the original and whose learning and diligence were invaluable; to the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research whose generosity enabled me to purchase microfilms and photostats necessary to the translation and to spend part of a summer in the Library of Congress checking sources and secondary materials; to Dr. Leslie Spier of Santa Cruz, California, who, over the years, has been a source of encouragement in carrying on an esoteric work and who has been instrumental in helping me to publish. Without their help this work would not have been brought to completion.

ON USAGE

Professor Donald Keene of Columbia has remarked that "a translation is a work in English . . . it is not an intermediate step to the original." Any who have struggled through the intricate apparatus of many translations cannot but agree with him. To encapsulate a translation in an impenetrable shell of notes and references, leaving the reader like some minor Mahomet, suspended between the Heaven of the original and the Hell of the translation, is surely not much of a service. I have stripped away as much of the apparatus of linguistic and scholarly credentials as possible on the theory that a translator should be invisible and that his scholarship should be incorporated within the text of a translation. However, there are limits to how much once can "English" as detailed and special a work as *Ainu Seisaku Shi*. While this work is for the interested historian or anthropologist, with no knowledge of things Japanese, yet I have had to keep in mind the small number familiar with Japanese and, in order to balance

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PART ONE

THE EARLY PERIOD OF Clan Government

INTRODUCTION

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The *SHS*[2] delimits this period[1] from 1582 when Kakizaki Yoshihiro was received in audience by the Regent Toyotomi Hideyoshi, who recognized the Kakizaki family as independent of the control of the Andō clan in the Ōu region, until 1799 when Eastern Ezo came under the direct control of the Bakufu. Seventeen years after the audience with Hideyoshi, Kakizaki Yoshihiro was received (1599) by the Shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu after which he changed his name to Matsumae Yoshihiro. In 1604, with a decree of enfoefment from Tokugawa Ieyasu, Matsumae established his own clan. However, I would prefer to predate this period to 1514 when Mitsuhiro, the great-grandfather of Yoshihiro, moved into Fukuyama and became the *de facto* ruler of Ezo. This marks the time when the mainlanders in Ezo united under the Kakizaki family and when the Kakizaki were entrusted with the care of Ezo by the Andō clan. Although this earlier date is some eighty-five years prior to the establishment of an independent Matsumae fief and while the Kakizaki were only deputies of the Andō in Ezo, nevertheless it is from this year that "colonial" activities begin in Hokkaidō for it was the first time Japanese immigrants in the area were united.

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On the other hand relations between Japanese and natives do not necessarily date from this time. There are attempts to trace the history of Ainu-Japanese relations from mythological times because the name *Koshi no Shima* [Island of the Koshi] can be found among the "many islands" listed in the ancient chronicles. This is unsubstantial evidence. However, it is commonly held that the term *Watarishima* [Island across the water] which frequently appears in the *Saimeiki* [Chronicle of the Empress Saimei, A.D. 654–661] represents Hokkaidō. If this identification is exact then it can be stated that by the seventh century the political power of the central government of Japan had already been extended to the island of Hokkaidō. For, in A.D. 659 Abe no Omi, on his second northeastern expedition campaigned against the Ezo in Watarishima and established a government post at Shiribeshi. It should be noted that this expedition had for its purpose the occupation of Watarishima as a foothold from which to watch and oppose the *Sukushin* (then the *Bakkatsu*) tribes which were threatening our northern boundary by advancing south along the shores of the Japan Sea.[a]

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[1] *SHS* 2: 2-3 [& Revised History of Hokkaidō - - ANALYST]

[a] *Sukushin* (*Su-shen*) or *Bakkatsu* (*Mo-ho*). Very old names for the Tungusic Ju-chen of the area between the Sungari River and the sea. These people dominated the continental shore of the Japan Sea in antiquity and frequently raided the northwest Japanese seacoast and the islands thereof

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PART ONE

The Early Period of CLAN GOVERNMENT

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This is an example of Zoepfel's so-called, "administrative territory outside of the nation used for achieving world policy aims" and with this example our colonial activities in Hokkaidō may be said to have started. We know that this use of Hokkaidō as an outpost continued for some years for, in January of 720 during the reign of the Empress Genshō, six people including Watarishima and Tsugaru government officials were sent to Bakkatsu.[2] There are many facts from authentic records prior to the ninth century which show that the government of Japan endeavored to appease and protect the native Ezo [3] and that the powerful Ezo of Watarishima, receiving favors, often brought tribute to Kyōto.[4] We have only one record of their rebellion in this period. A report from the Governor of Dewa in 875, during the reign of the Emperor Seiwa notes that savages from Watarishima, commanding eighty vessels, massacred and looted the farmers of the Akita and Akiumi districts.[5] On the other hand, the record shows that in 878, during the reign of the Emperor Yōzei, when the subjugated natives of Dewa revolted, the Watarishima Ezo offered the use of their arms to

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from Tsushima to Sado. Later known generally as the *Tōi*, a fact which leads to some interesting speculations, since *Tōi*, or "Eastern barbarians" was picked up from the Chinese language by the Japanese and used to denote the *Emishi* in writing. The fact that the Japanese wrote of their own aborigines with a word the Chinese used for continental peoples may illustrate nothing more than the vagaries of borrowing in languages but the long and intimate contacts of the riverine peoples of Manchuria with Northern Japan cannot be overlooked. An added clue to connections between ancient Japan and the continent lies in the connection between the Tungus of the North and the creation of the states of ancient Korea. One of these states was Shiragi and for no apparent reason the family records of the ruling clan of Hokkaidō—the Matsumae clan—are called the *Shiragi no Kiroku* or Records of Shiragi.

[2] *Shoku Nihongi* [The further chronicles of Japan] 8; entry under the year 720.

[3] During the expedition of Abe no Omi it was thought that feasting was the best method of appeasement. We know that those who paid tribute were highly remmerated and presented with gifts. In March of 697 brocade skirts, dark red and deep purple silk, and axes were presented to an Ezo, Imirimushi, and to a Sukushin, Shirashuesō. The native policy of those days was to obtain obedience through entertainment and submission by gifts to those who paid tribute.

[4] *Fusō Ryakuki* [Abridged history of Japan] section of August 716 during the reign of Genshō. *Shoku Nihongi*, Imperial Rescript of Kobo No. 36 during the reign of Kōnin. *Ruijū Sandai Kaku* [Miscellaneous ordinances of three reigns] No. 19 in June 802 during the reign of Kammu. *Nihon Isshi* No. 111 of same date. Also *Dajōkan Fu* (Decree of the Great Council of State).

[5] *Sandai Jitsuroku* (Authentic record of the reigns of three emperors) 27, section of November 875 during the reign of Yōzei.

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the government [6] in suppressing the revolt. Facts can be listed which show that the policy of the government of Japan, in this period, was aimed not only just at taking political and economic control of the natives, but also at developing their culture and that this policy was comparatively successful.

However, when, in the middle of the Heian [794–1192] period, the control of the central government began to disintegrate, Hokkaidō was left wholly in the hands of the powerful Abe family who ruled the area as though it were a foreign land and who negated the earlier policies. The Abe also discontinued the tribute of the Ezo to Kyōto. There are practically no noteworthy historical materials on native or colonial policy for this period. More detailed materials are available only after the Matsumae gained their independence which means that in this latter period the number of mainlanders settling in Hokkaidō increased and that these immigrants enjoyed the power to engage in their individual activities. Because of the gap in historical materials the time of the beginning of the independence of the Matsumae is taken as the foundation period for the study of native policy in Hokkaidō, as distinguished from the policy toward the natives of Ōu. There are no records to show exactly when mainlanders began migrating to Hokkaidō.[7] However, it seems that at the beginning the majority were castaways [8] who were unable to return, in addition to those who came to trade and to fish and who later settled the island, and those who were exiled. Their numbers were small and their power weak and, therefore, it is probable that they were assimilated, politically and socially, into the native society and had no independent activity. In later years, to escape the perils of war and famine in Honshu and particularly in the Ōu region, the number of immigrants gradually increased and we can see a conscious and separate settlement. Nevertheless, even these later immigrants were considered as of the Ezo notwithstanding the fact that the *Suwa Daimyōjin Eshi* [*SDE*] and other records distinguish them from the aborigines of Hokkaidō by calling them *Watari To* [Watari group].[b]

[6] *Ibid.* 34, section of March 878 during the reign of Yōzei.

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[7] Recent archaeological investigation has revealed many remains said to be those of the Ainu in Hokkaidō but which do not belong to the Jomon culture. Instead they closely resemble the remains of the Nara period [710–794]. See Gotō Moriichi, Hokkaidō ni okeru kofun shutsudo no ibutsu kenkyū (Study of the remains from old tombs in Hokkaidō), *Kokogaku Zasshi* 24 (2-3). It is probable that these remains were brought into Ezo in or about this period. *SHS* 2: 12–14 and 24.

[8] That there were a considerable number of these can be seen from the fact that in 1688 a crew exploring the shores of the Ishikari River counted a number of castaways who had married natives and settled among them.

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[b] There may be a reason for considering these immigrants as of the Ezo. Chronologically and territorially there are three distinct historical divisions of the Ezo. There are the *Koshi* who dominated much of prehistoric Japan, then the later *Kai* who dominated the Northeast, and finally the Ezo or Ainu of Hokkaidō, Karafuto, and the Kuriles. But in the days of the *Koshi* and then the *Kai* there were further distinctions. Ezo

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The *Watari To* seem to have had a social organization similar to the aboriginals of Hokkaidō, that is, not far advanced from a primitive communal society. This may be because the *Watari To* were basically Japanized Ezo from Ōu. Those of the Yamato race who were among them seemed to have adapted themselves to the lives of the Ezo or were in the process of so doing.

In later years the campaigns between the imperial families and the military families extended to the Ōu region and, as a result of continuous warfare among the great clans, those who looked forward to new opportunities in a new world moved into Hokkaidō. These later immigrants are clearly distinguished from the Ezo. They not only lived as Japanese, but had an advanced state of social organization—the feudal.

Those with power built forts called *Yakata*, ruled over the people within their territory and eventually came under the control of the Andō clan of Tsugaru. The Andō were related to and successors of the Abe as feudal lords of the north.

In 1456 the area between Shiokubisaki in the east and Atsusabu Kawa in the west became the central area of settlement for the mainlanders. Although they lived among the Ezo from Mukawa in the east to Yoichi in the west, they tended to settle at points along the coast.[9] The cause of this movement may be explained on the same grounds as those which guide our national development southward. However at this stage there is still no significant native policy. It only becomes of significance when the Matsumae unite the mainlanders and present a solid front of opposition to the natives. The expansion of the immigrant colonists was bound to come into conflict with the interests of the natives. The immigrants were mostly fishermen. In those days, when commerce was undeveloped, the rulers depended for their livelihood on taxes in kind collected from these fishermen, else at times the clans themselves were obliged to engage in fishing, as pointed out by the author of the *Ezo Koku Shiki* [Private Records, of the Ezo country].[10] Therefore, as the number of im-

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who were either captured or who voluntarily accepted Japanese rule were called *ifu* while Japanese who married Ezo or who left the Japanese limits to accept Ezo life and rule, and there was a surprising number of these, were called *fushū*. Therefore, it is logical for old Japanese records to consider a group as of the Ezo and yet separate from them.

[9] *Shiragi no Kiroku* (copy in the Hakodate Library), 15.

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[10] *Ezo Koku Shiki* says, "In those days when the Matsumae came to the country there were no officials on duty there and no vessels from other countries but only a few ships from Zennan Bu and Tsugaru and, because there were no houses as today, only a few fishermen. When a vessel did enter port the crew would stay at the homes of retainers and managers, there being no inn and they would depart as soon as they had completed their business, so there was but little exchange. From early times to today cultivated land has been scarce, the topography being mountainous. Ground rent was left unpaid and the warriors engaged in fishing. . . ." The record goes on to illustrate how, regardless of rank or caste, all engaged, during the herring season, in fishing. "In the homes of retainers and stewards even the women and servants, leaving

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migrants increased, so did their fishing areas and this clashed with the vested hunting and fishing rights of the natives. It also seems that, at first, owing to inferiority in numbers and power, the immigrants tried to avoid conflict with the natives, but as the immigrant activities increased collisions became inevitable.

The first clash is reported as occurring in 1456 when a blacksmith of Kajimura (the present Hakodate) got into an argument with an Ezo chieftain and killed him. In revenge the aroused natives massacred the immigrants. In the following year a chieftain, by name Koshamain, attempted to assault Fukuyama. The natives were so powerful that settlement after settlement fell into their hands. The immigrants were driven out of all their bases and those who escaped from the slaughter assembled at Matsumae and Kaminokuni and, with the aid of Takeda Nobuhiro, the founder of Kakizaki power, were just able to retain a foothold. This is the turning point when the relations between immigrants and natives became serious. The record shows other incidents such as those in 1471 and 1501. During these incidents Japanese forts were either lost or damaged and the only base able to stand against the natives was that of the Kakizaki. Gradually the Kakizaki unified the Japanese on Hokkaidō and grew into the dominant power on the island. In 1514 the Kakizaki after moving into Fukuyama were entrusted by the Andō with the management of Ezo affairs which, in effect, made them the real power on the island. With this power Kakizaki made a concerted effort to suppress the natives. However, disputes continued, occurring in 1515, 1525, 1529, 1531, and 1536, the natives remaining powerful and the mainlanders, who were on the defensive, resorting to such tactics as feigning peace and then striking by surprise.[11] But the Japanese eventually emerged as victors.

The Kakizaki were finally able to secure a sizeable area around their base of Fukuyama and, perceiving the disadvantage of continuous fighting, changed their policy to one of reconciliation and, in 1550, Suehiro, grandson of Nobuhiro, made peace with the various native tribes by offering them treasures which they cherished and thus won their favor. Suehiro appointed Hashitain from Setanai as chief of west Ezo, stationing him at Amanogawa in Kaminokuni, and Chikomotain from Shiriuchi was appointed chief of east Ezo. To both chiefs were distributed the tax levied on the merchants who came into the country. Rules were also established concerning the navigation of merchant vessels in Ezo waters. In order to show respect to these chiefs, merchant vessels were ordered to lower their sails and stop when passing off the coast at Kaminokuni and Shiriuchi.

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the old and feeble behind, went to the beaches and, together with the warriors and merchants, devoted themselves to fishing." The samurai with their families engaged in herring fishing for years after that.

[11] *SHS* 2: 57–58.

439 556 [583] in lieu of the death penalty [21] and they also served as betrothal presents.[22]

A village or a group of villages would possess fishing grounds in common. These were open to the free use 423 226 [685] of the members of the group but were prohibited to outsiders and violations of fishing grounds had to be compensated. In the *Hokkaidō Dojin Hōshiki Sonota Zatsuji Dai-Ryakuchō* [*HDHS*] [Great Abridged Compendium of the Laws and Other Matters of the Hokkaidō Natives] it says:

> In hunting or fishing, in the mountains or the sea, there was usually a boundary between districts and it was forbidden to hunt or fish in the territory of another district. [224] [685] In hunting, when people from Hitaka and Tokachi poached in the Ishikari region any native who apprehended them was authorized to confiscate their skins after interrogation. They were not deprived of their catch prior to questioning.

423 224 According to the native Mombetsu Urenbōku,[23]

> There is a boundary within which we can catch deer, bear, and fish and the natives of the village are not allowed to hunt outside their territory. If they went into other territory, they would be immediately punished.

423 [195] While it may seem that the above divisions were the result of the *Basho* contract system, the fact seems to be that the *Basho* themselves were divided according to the hunting and fishing territories of the Ainu. For example, here is a judgment rendered in 1767 when the Atsuta *Basho* and the Masuke *Basho* quarreled over [671] their boundary line, "Affairs in Ezo shall be settled according to the custom of the Ezo." [24] A more positive proof lies in the fact that this custom of boundaries is found in the island of Etorofu where no *Basho* was established. In *Etorofu Shi* [History of Etorofu] under the year 1809 it says,

> There are boundaries, both in the mountains and the sea of which the chiefs are in charge. Outside one's own boundary one is prohibited from so much as even cutting a blade of grass. In the event that one sights a group of whales he is to receive permission from the chief of the territory and the catch is to be apportioned under the orders of the chief. The law is very stringent and anyone violating it is deprived of his catch as a punitive compensation after a charge and deliberation.

423 628 The quarrels among the Ainu communities were chiefly over hunting and fishing rights. Not only were hunting and fishing grounds communally owned but the community hunted and fished as a unit. In the *Ezo Kembun Shi* [A History of Personal Experiences in 423 226 [229] Ezo] 7, there is a translation of an epic or *Yukara* (in reality an *Isotaku* or hunting legend) supposedly dictated by an Ezo from Osarubetsu which gives a vivid description of how the Ainu help each other in bear

[21] Kindaichi Kyōsuke, *Yukara Kenkyū* (Studies in *Yukara*) 2: 240.
[22] Kōnō Tsunekichi, *Kyūdojin* (Aborigines), 8.
[23] *Hokkaidō Times*, June 29, 1918.
[24] Matsumae Hironaga, *Fukuyama Hifu Kokon Sojō-bu* (Section on Petitions, Fukuyama archives) in *SHS* 5: 234.

Early Japan AB3 For example,

look at the region along the Ishikari River before the events of 1669 and at the Akkeshi, Kitami, and Nemuro regions before 1789. Here we find not individual isolated villages but groups of villages united by powerful chiefs. Yet because these chiefs did not have sufficient economic power and because the village groups were divided into smaller economic units owing to their small scale hunting and fishing the coalitions found here died out once the chiefs who had united them lost their power. The main reason for the conquest of the Ainu by the Japanese is not merely the difference in culture but the failure of the Ainu to form an effective union.

II. THE WAR OF 1669

1. DEVELOPMENT OF JAPANESE-EZO RELATIONS

The power of the Japanese in Hokkaidō at the time the Matsumae fief became independent was negligible. Industry was confined to seasonal work and the Japanese in Hokkaidō lived within forty to fifty miles of the coast between Kameda and Kumaishi. The rest of the island was occupied by the Ezo and was called *Shamo Chi* or *Matsumae Chi*. As the Matsumae stabilized their power they forbade Japanese to live in Ainu territory and also interdicted Japanese territory to the Ainu, except for those already resident there. This system was introduced because intermingling of the two people had always led to trouble. The boundary was established at the line Kameda-Kumaishi at which two places guardhouses were set up. This division did not sever the Japanese-Ainu relationship, however. As the Matsumae became an independent clan the number of their retainers increased and so did their expenses. What with building forts, the *Sankin Kōtai*[a] and the general expense of maintaining a dignified clan position the Matsumae could hardly support themselves from the revenues of their own territory. They naturally cast an eye at the abundant resources in the land of the Ezo. But at this period their power was only sufficient to maintain their own lands against the powerful Ezo. Not only was the conquest of Ezo territory hopeless, but the economic infiltration of that area by immigrants seemed an impossible task. The only solution was for the Matsumae to maintain friendly relations with the Ainu and through the Ainu themselves to make use of Ainu resources.

Theoretically, peaceful economic relations are trade

[a] *Sankin Kōtai* was a hostage system whereby the Tokugawa Government hoped to insure the loyalty of its feudatories. The lords were obliged to reside alternately in their domains and at Edo and when not in Edo to leave their families there as hostage. The Matsumae, owing to their distance from the capital, their lack of participation in Japanese politics, and their frontier situation, had to visit the capital only once every five years, did not have to reside at Edo that fifth year, nor were their wives and children compelled to stay at Edo the intervening four years. That the cost of performing only a small part of the duties demanded from every other great lord of Japan was excessive to Matsumae is one indication of his small income.

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CHAPTER IV

BATTLES WITH THE JAPANESE

In writing about Mr. Anra, the haunted man, I had occasion to mention his persecution by supposed giants, dwarfs and Japanese warriors. I had never before heard of a race of giants from these people, and until some definite tradition is forthcoming, one can not treat of them. But the warriors and dwarfs are different matters. For in all probability, traditions concerning these, and hereditary instinct, among other things, suggested these beings to his subconscious mind, and formed the basis of his mania.

That the two races, the Japanese and Ainu, were not on friendly terms at the beginning is natural and is proved by oral tradition as well as by ancient Japanese records. Besides reading of massacres in olden times, we are told of many hard contested battles between the two peoples. There are quite a number of mounds to be seen in the north of Japan which are said to contain heaps of the bones of those unfortunate Ainu who were slain in battles there. We read that the aborigines made very determined resistance against the invaders for many centuries after the latter had established themselves in Yamato, and we can very well believe this to have been so. The Ainu were a brave race and very fierce withal. In the year A.D. 720 they are said to have made so strong and determined an attack on the Japanese as to render it necessary to call out the soldiers of no less than nine Provinces to keep them back. In the end, however, they were effectually checked in an assault on the Japanese stronghold and driven back to the north of Sendai.

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CHAPTER XLIV

A WOMAN, LOSING HER TWELVE SWEETHEARTS, AT LAST MARRIES A METAMORPHOSED BEAR

In the year 1874, when Saghalien was exchanged by Japan with Russia for the Kurile Islands, some of the native Ainu residing there were brought down to Hokkaidō and placed at Tsuishikari, not far from Sapporo. They all returned to their old northern homes some years later. Although they are true Saghalien people, those now left of them, with their children, are called Hokkaidō Ainu. When I first took up the study of the Ainu, it was with these that I began. The following very interesting legend is one of those recited by a member of this same Saghalien tribe. It is a woman's legend and is supposed to be recited by the spirit of one of the gentle sex who has passed over.

"I was a woman. In my village there lived twelve fine young men, six at the upper and six at the lower end thereof.*

"These young men went away every year and caught many seals, so I lived very well and never lacked food. They gave me an abundance to eat. Being grateful for this, I yearly made for them in return twelve fibre garments, six for each company. I also provided them with vegetable food.

"One day I heard the birds talking together, and as I knew the bird language, I understood what they were saying. They said that the young men had gone

*Six is the Ainu perfect number.

[P. 357]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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In the year 1669 (the 9th year of Kambun) 776
he sent an army against the Lord of Matsumai, but finally sued for peace, which was granted without fine. [175]

The following is an interesting legend I have frequently heard in Saru. It is called "Pon-ya-un-be," which I believe means "The little man of the mountains." The legend shows him fighting with one called Samatuye Ainu, which I believe is a word meaning "Seashore man," though the legend itself gives a different derivation.

"We three, my younger sister, my elder brother 539
and I were brought up together. One night I found 628
myself quite unable to sleep; but whether what I now relate was seen in a dream, or whether it really took place, I cannot say.

"At the source of our river, and on the tops of the mountains there, I saw a great herd of bucks feeding by themselves. At the head of the herd there was a very large buck with speckled horns. There was also a herd of does by themselves, at the head of which there was a speckled one prancing about in front of her fellows. So I sat up in my bed, buckled on my belt which I had wound round my body, and tied my hat strings under my chin. I then fastened on my leggings, which were made of grass, slipped on my best boots, stuck my favourite sword in my girdle, took my quiver-sling in my hand, seized my bow, which was made of yew and ornamented with cherry bark at the middle, and sallied forth.

"The dust upon the road by the riverside was flying about. I was taken up by the wind and it was as though I rode along upon the clouds. My elder brother and younger sister followed along behind me. In truth, as we went along we saw that the mountains were covered with great herds of bucks and does. The bucks had a speckled male at their head; its horns even were speckled. There was also a speckled doe at the head of the females.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

lers, or koro-pok-gune dwellers, under ground, which they claim to have exterminated. But it is impossible to determine whether this is a genuine tradition or an invention of the people to explain the existence of the pits. It is reasonable to suppose that they should have heard of the Smelenkur of Saghalien, who also live in half-underground dwellings. The Tsuishikari Ainos, who originally inhabited Saghalien, and who have customs somewhat different from the Yezo Ainos, say that their people* "used to live in underground houses called *toichioci*. In spring they forsook them and lived above ground until the frost and snow again made them seek shelter in these subterranean dwellings, which were pits roofed over, not caves."* Possibly the Saghalin Ainos are the more or less direct descendants of the ancient pit-dwellers, but it seems quite as likely that they have thus merely described the dwellings of the Smelenkur of Saghalien, with whom they must have been well acquainted. The Smelenkur seem to be a Mongolian people.

From the relics of the Stone Age and of the kitchen middens in Japan, Professor Milne concludes that the Ainos† once inhabited Japan as far south as Kiushiu. The remains are of the same character throughout the country, but they are more abundant in the north. The evidence that they are of Aino origin may be briefly summarized as follows:

(1) The designs on the pottery are the same as those on pottery found in Yezo, supposed to have been made by Ainos at a time when they possessed the art of making pots.

(2) Some of the shell-heaps occur in places known to have been occupied by Ainos. Historical evidence is clear that the Ainos formerly lived as far south as the thirty-eighth parallel, which is about the latitude of Sendai.

(3) The Ainos formerly used stone implements, presumably the same as those found with the pottery. Professor Milne presumes that the Japanese, entering the country from the south, chased the Ainos before them, while the Ainos in turn drove the pit-dwellers back toward Kamtschatka. There is, however, a missing link in the argument, because the present Ainos do not make pottery of any kind. It is scarcely probable that such a useful art, when once developed to the condition of elaborate artistic decoration shown by the vessels and fragments from the shell-heaps, should be utterly lost by a people. The specimens shown on Plate LXXXI will give an idea of the character of this decoration, which is far superior to anything found on Japanese sepulchral pottery. The only explanation that suggests itself which might account for the loss of this art by the Ainos is, that in gradually moving northward they passed into a region where they could not find clay for making their vessels. But this can scarcely be true, for fragments of ancient pots are found in Yezo mounds.

* J. M. Dixon. The Tsuishikari Ainos. Trans. Asiatic Soc., Japan, XI, 1883, 39-50.
† Trans. Asiatic Soc., Japan, VII, 1879, 61-87.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

some saké in the evening. On returning to my hotel I ordered the saké to be sent to them, but the Japanese neglected to attend to it. Consequently when I went to photograph them the next day, just as I was about to take a picture of two old persons, the chief called out from a distance and my subjects turned away. I induced them to pose once more, when the burly chief came on a run, forcibly threw his offending subjects on either side and turned to me with fire in his eye and some very strong language, no doubt, of which I could not understand one word. I thought he would smash my camera, and he might easily have thrown me into the sea. However, by degrees he cooled down and finally he stood for his own picture in a pose of his own, neither graceful nor elegant. But he came on me like a type of a fierce high-tempered savage, such as I do not care to encounter again.

There is an account of the Ainos of six or seven centuries ago, which tallies well with the supposition that they were once a warlike people. It is from a report of Mr. Henry S. Munroe, and relates to the discovery of gold in Yezo. According to the Japanese tradition, a party of Japanese in the second year of Genkiu went to Yezo and remained there 13 years washing for gold. The account goes on to say: "At this time the Ainos were a very savage and warlike race and gave the gold-washers no little trouble. Finally after a desperate battle, the Ainos became masters of the field, killing the whole party of Japanese with the exception of the priest. * * * The Ainos emboldened by the victory, crossed the straits in large force and made vigorous war on the Japanese."

AINO POPULATION.

In an article published in the Japan "Mail" of January 20, 1888, Mr. John Batchelor has given the following statistics of the Aino population of Yezo for four successive years. His figures are as follows:

Aino population in Yezo.

Year.	Males.	Females.	Total.
1882	8,546	8,652	17,198
1883	8,554	8,596	17,150
1884	9,051	8,776	17,827
1885	7,900	8,063	15,963

The cause of the decrease in 1885 is not explained. It amounts to 1,864 and includes 1,151 males and 713 females. I am disposed to regard it as an error in the returns, not at all impossible in Japanese methods. In the course of my own travels I endeavored to obtain definite information concerning the population, not with the view of learning the total number of Ainos in Yezo, which could only be done by visiting all parts of the island, but for the purpose of enabling future travellers to know where the largest settlements are to be found.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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to hunt deer and bear. The Government encouraged Japanese settlers to take up farms and keep cattle. Japanese fishermen and hunters used techniques which were more advanced than those of the Ainu. Forestry and mining undertakings were set up. As a result of these changes, the resources on which Ainu had depended for subsistence became inadequate. Game and fish resources decreased, food-collecting sites were broken up, and from 1884 onwards the Government encouraged the Ainu to take up agriculture. Each household was allotted a plot of land, given agricultural implements and seed and taught agricultural techniques by specialist Japanese officials.

Before this date the coastal Hokkaido Ainu had farmed by shifting cultivation, but only on a small scale, and probably under Japanese influence. The cultivation of millet, the main crop, was done by women. After the snow melted, suitable plots on river banks were cleared with small wooden picks (*shittap*), and sown without ridging. Weeding was done only between sowing and harvest. Millet was harvested by cutting off the heads with a shell knife (*pipa*). The area cultivated by a household was probably between 240 and 360 square metres. When the soil was exhausted, the plot was abandoned and a new one prepared; there appears to have been no shortage of land for cultivation in this period. Once a person had cultivated a plot of land it was called 'the place which is expected to be cultivated by so-and-so'. The cultivator could control the use of the plot and the crop until it was abandoned. The cycle of shifting cultivation appears to have varied from area to area.[1]

The more general acceptance of agriculture by the Ainu, with the encouragement of the Japanese administration after 1884, resulted in considerable displacement of traditional groupings, since these had depended on areas suitable for fishing, hunting, and collecting, rather than on terrain suitable for farming. The old food-gathering system, especially that of hunting and fishing, had been closely linked with the religious beliefs of the Ainu. So long as it remained untouched, down to 1884, the religion of the Ainu

[1] Takakura (1942) says that early Japanese documents reported this type of agriculture as practised by the Ainu in the south-western area of the island. The origin of the old agricultural system is unknown, but it may have been learned from the Japanese. The grounds for such an hypothesis are that the area is nearest to the Japanese mainland (Honshu) and that contact between the Ainu and the Japanese had been one of long duration.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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remained intact, and the Japanese religious beliefs and practices made little headway.

621 The basic social unit among the Ainu was the simple family. A [594] group of families formed a settlement or hamlet (*kotan*): the [162] number of families in a settlement varied from one to over twenty, but was usually less than ten. Settlements were made near rivers, 361 and sites were usually selected for their proximity to fishing grounds, especially the spawning grounds of the dog-salmon.

621 A settlement or group of settlements constituted a politically 423 autonomous local group, the unity and integrity of which was [184] expressed by the common ownership of salmon spawning beds and common participation in certain rituals.[1] Members of the local groups regarded the river valley as their territory, and had exclusive rights to exploit its resources, which they defended against the trespass of outsiders. For all economic purposes, the local group was self-sufficient.

226 Among the fishing rituals practised by the Ainu the most im- 796 portant was the dog-salmon ritual (*kamuichep kamuinomi*). The 621 elders of each household in the local group, owning common salmon spawning grounds, joined under their headman to perform the rites. There was a ritual to ensure the success of the [774] coming salmon run, a first salmon ritual, and a ritual to return the spirits of the captured salmon to the land of the kamui.

224 Hunting, particularly bear hunting, required strict adherence to 825 ritual. The bear itself is a deity and the Bear Ceremony is the best 796 known of all Ainu rituals.

London, 1956

Postscript by B. Z. Seligman

648 It is well known that, from the earliest historical times, the Ainu ● 175 were gradually driven north by the Japanese in Honshu. Frontier posts were established in the northern province of Mutsu to 'keep out the barbarians'. Sansom[2] states that in 805 a memorial to the

[613] [622] [114] [1] I received the following information from Mr Watanabe after further researches in 1957: In the Tokapchi district these groups are called *shine itokpa uko hor utar* (one and the same male ancestor-mark together possessing people). Characteristics of the group are: strong group consciousness, exclusive claim to the resources of the river basin, and collective ritual. There is no single authority, at least in normal times.—B.Z.S.

[2] G. B. Sansom, *Japan, a Short Cultural History*, The Cresset Press, London, 1931.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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throne complains of the drain on the treasury caused by constant fighting with the Ainu. The neighbourhood of Akita was laid waste by them; they 'gathered together like ants, but dispersed like birds'. The Ainu inflicted heavy casualties on the Japanese in 789. Two years later a stronger and better organized force was successful in driving the enemy northwards. In 811 a commander was praised for 'destroying the lairs of the barbarians and exterminating the tribe'. Ainu chieftains were put to death, other prisoners were banished to the extreme south.

From these records the question of Ainu chieftainship arises, and the capacity of a non-agricultural people to combine in such force. Sansom suggests that pioneer Japanese settlers in the north of Honshu may have combined with the Ainu and organized their resistance.

Since the translation of the *Ainu Seisaku Shi* into English by Mr. John A. Harrison and its publication,[1] information concerning the earliest contacts with the Ainu in Hokkaido have been available to western readers. Professor Takakura's motive in spending many years in research on the subject of Japanese and Ainu contacts, and Japanese colonial policy, was similar to that of Munro. Both men were distressed by the miserable condition of the Ainu, cut off from their traditional means of livelihood. Professor Takakura was insensed that, during his youth, 'nothing was being done to improve the lot of the Ainu'.

He records that in 1514, when the founder of the Matsumae family settled in Hokkaido, the Japanese settlements were already fortified against attack from the Ainu.

The Ezo of Ou (the Ainu of Honshu), who had been powerful in the ninth century, had been almost exterminated, and their remnants were completely assimilated by the end of the eighteenth century. Some contact with the Ainu of Hokkaido had been established by the Japanese at the end of the eighth century, but it was not until the sixteenth century that numbers of Japanese immigrants settled in South Hokkaido. Hokkaido then became a Japanese trading colony. When the Matsumae clan was granted a decree of enfeofment in 1604 the Ainu were living by hunting and fishing; they bred dogs, both for hunting and haulage; they used stone and

[1] Takakura, Shinichiro, *The Ainu of Northern Japan, a Study in Conquest and Acculturation*, translated and annotated by John A. Harrison, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, April 1960.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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[643]
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bone implements, and made clothing of bark cloth, skins and feathers. Barter trade with Japanese as well as Manchurian and Siberian tribes was already established, and millet was cultivated, probably introduced by the Japanese.

Chiefs called *Kotan Korokuru* (village ruling chiefs) are mentioned, but also chiefs of much larger areas, having two hundred or more retainers. In 1739 a Japanese record states that the Ainu of East Hokkaido were sturdy, and apt to defy Matsumae law.

It seems clear that the Japanese treated certain Ainu, whom they considered suitable, as paramount chiefs, but whether the Ainu themselves regarded these chiefs in this light is doubtful. However, they were able to combine against Japanese aggression in the serious rebellion of 1669 and again in 1789.

Japanese policy varied from direct aggression and prohibitions against any kind of personal contact with the native population to periods of appeasement and encouragement of the adoption of Japanese customs by the Ainu, and even miscegenation. Coastal trading posts were established, and Ainu fishermen were employed as labourers in fishing and making oilcake; they were paid in kind, which was barely sufficient for their daily needs. During the periods of forced labour they were unable to preserve and store salmon for the winter as was their custom, so when the fishing season was over they were left to starve. Hunters living away from the coast fared better; they could supply hawks, eagle feathers, skins and bear liver to the Japanese without changing their mode of life. The encouragement of agriculture in no way compensated the Ainu for the prohibitions of hunting and fishing which were, from time to time, and in various districts, imposed upon them.

London, 1961

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173 123 [648] friends, a young Ainu from Taraika who owed much to me, told me frankly the true reason for the reticence of the Ainu regarding the Tonchi. These actually had inhabited Sakhalin before the arrival of the Ainu. But the Ainu tried very hard to pass over this fact in silence or even to deny it, because they were afraid that the Russians might rob them of the country and expel them from the island so dear to them once they had learned that they were immigrants and not autochthons. Thus old Ainu stubbornly withheld any information about their predecessors and forbade all clansmen to talk about the Tonchi at all and about the fact that the Ainu tribe did not constitute the original population of the country but had once immigrated from Hokkaido (Yezo) to Sakhalin. This information was confirmed to me by an old Ainu from the village of Nayero who was highly esteemed by all the inhabitants of the eastern shore including the Gilyak and Orok. He confessed to having deliberately misled me earlier. Yet after he became convinced that I was well inclined towards the Ainu he could tell the truth since he knew that I would not abuse it to the detriment of his people.

175 648 I have never received any detailed information when this prohibition among the Ainu took place, but I can understand it well. I relate it to the times of the advance of the first Russians on the island. Captain Newelski and his comrades took great pains to prove that the Japanese had no rights on the Island of Sakhalin since they had not been there long enough. Much earlier "Russian subjects," i.e. Orok, had shown up there who were mistakenly called Tungus by the new conquerors and were considered emigrants from the environments of Udsk in the Russian Empire. This political slant "which confirms the indisputable right of Russia to dominate the territory of the Island of Sakhalin" and finds its expression in thoroughly childish ethnographic fairy-tales (1) /327/ and which probably also played its part in the

114 [113] 1. See Newelski: Podwigi russkich morskich oficerov (The Feats of Russian Navy Officers). Petersburg, 1878, p. 304 and 305. This book contains

A [For an explanation of this prohibition, see pp. 4-5--Analyst]

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the description of an Ainu bear festival and an Ainu clay hut, ascribing both to the Orok, who, however, as is well known, live only in the Tundra region and are occupied exclusively with reindeer breeding. It also quotes information obtained from certain lotsa-orok-ajnu. The latter are supposed to be descended from Russian Tungus and Ainu and to live together with pure Ainu scattered in different villages. But this information is not confirmed by anybody, Schrenk even characterizes it as outright wrong. My own research and observations have convinced me that all this has been invented by either Newelski himself or other persons who, under his orders, traveled at that time at the shores of Sakhalin.

• 175 648 census taken at that time, apparently frightened the autochthonous population which had already been disturbed by the appearance of a foreign unknown race. Even the more advanced Japanese were alarmed about it, for they foresaw that they would be expelled from the country where they had not yet gained a firm hold. Therefore they transferred as quickly as possible to places which up to then they had carefully avoided, namely more to the north of Sakhalin. The era of the Russo-Japanese joint rule in the south of Sakhalin, 1854-1875, developed distrust and a certain cunning diplomacy among the Ainu. When finally the Russians had become masters of the country and the Japanese were forced to quit their thriving settlements, the thought that they, too, would be forced to leave the country of their fathers, that their existence, too, was threatened, took still firmer roots in the childlike minds of the peoples there. Nor did the Japanese refrain from frightening the Ainu by exaggerated

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175 648 descriptions of the new rulers and measures to be expected. Small wonder that ca. 800 Ainu left the island together with the Japanese, though they had never enjoyed any special attention or leniency from their yellow neighbors.

114 [115] The same Ainu friend--his name was Sisratoka--who had told me the secret of the above mentioned ban regarding the Tonchi related to me also how some years ago, in the village of Nayero, the Ainu had given some wrong information to an American traveler (2)

2. I think this refers to B. Laufer who traveled by American order.

who had come to them from the north of Sakhalin. Among other things he wanted to sound them out on the Tonchi, and Sisratoka who served as interpreter was forbidden by the resentful elders to tell the truth.

173 I have succeeded in putting down some legends about the Tonchi with their variants. But they all resemble each other strikingly and their content is the following:

At the time of their arrival in Sakhalin the Ainu found there a people that lived in clay huts and knew how to manufacture vessels out of earth. The members of this tribe called themselves Tonchi. They were not very tall nor very small, had black hair and eyes, and generally did not much differ from the Ainu. Their women did not tattoo themselves. They wore short dresses made from animal skins or Manchurian material, their footgear was sewn together from sealskin. They kept neither dogs nor reindeer. For fishing they used angling rods, no nets. They also practised sable-hunting in a way different from the Ainu, since they did not try to kill the animals but caught them in traps. By boats similar to the ones now used by the Gilyak they went into Manchuria and brought wares from there, among other things a delicate white material called para pous. From the Tonchi the Ainu also learned the route into Manchuria. The Tonchi had thievish inclinations and were particularly after Ainu girls, whom they used to kidnap. Sometimes they raped and killed them.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Contact between the Ainu and the Japanese, their southern neighbours, is of long standing[1], and for a considerable period the life of the Ainu had been subject to Japanese influence through what was called the "basho" or district system that lasted from before 1789 to 1869[2]. In 1868, Hokkaido came under the administration of the Japanese Government: the island became a part of the territory of Japan and colonization was started.[3] With this began a process which greatly changed Ainu life, so that today the Ainu language is rarely spoken and then only by the aged; full-blood Ainus are about to be extinct; and the whole system of their subsistence has been profoundly altered. The most sudden and significant change in their mode of life happened in 1883 when the new Government started carrying out its programme of encouraging the Ainu to take up farming[4]. The object of this paper is the Ainu as they lived their autonomous life in the last phase of the intermediate period between the abolishment of the "basho" system and the introduction of new life based on agriculture[5].

The Aim and Method.

The Ainu have interested many students concerned with the origins of this ethnic group, their customs and artifacts as well as their bodily features. The result has been listings of patterns of those elements and mappings of their distributions, but little has been known about the process of their life, that is, how the Ainu have lived and are still living in the fields. To take an example, although the Ainu is described to have been a gathering people with no necessity of nomadic wanderings (HABARA, 1937, pp. 73-74, quoted from The Aborigines of Hokkaido published by Hokkaido Government; Note 40), scarcely anything has been investigated about how they maintained a settled life and in what conditions and with what effects, even the ascertainment alone of which may be of theoretical significance.

Man is a unique animal with unique properties; yet he remains part of the biotic world and his life process at any level of organization, whether at that of the cell, the individual or the group, is nothing but a part of nature. This paper deals with the Ainu not in terms of the types of implements and customs but of a life process functioning on a system of activities incorporating these means and mechanisms. The life process as such should be understood in the context of habitat, the place of abode, because no organisms can function apart from it. On the other hand, their activities should be understood in terms of the contribution to maintainance of the individual, the group and the species because this is what the students of organisms consider as the end or purpose of life process in general. From this point of view the present writer has attempted to analyse the modes and arrangements of Ainu activities with reference to their habitat and their group

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

137 firs, Abies sachalinensis and Picea jezoensis, runs at an altitude of 1400 metres above sea-level, leaving the overlying zone to creeping-pines and grasses (INUKAI, 1943, p. 5).

13 (4) Kishida distinguishes two zoo-geographycal regions in Hokkaido: the Highland and Lowland regions. The former is represented by the creeping-pine zone and one overlying it in the Taisetu volcanic mountain range. The latter includes the whole lower regions in Hokkaido and the Kurile Islands south of Rasawo. The brown bear, Ursus arctos, is found in both of the regions, while the deer, Cervus nippon, is found exclusively in the Lowland region (KISHIDA, 1930, p. 372; KURODA, 1937, pp. 71-72 and 79). See also Note 3.

175 648 (5) The contact between the Ainu and the Japanese has taken different forms. The following is summary made by the present writer from TAKAKURA's study (TAKAKURA, 1942).

Before 1599, the contact must have been limited. In that year the Japanese Matumae clan, which was subordinate to the Tokugawa Shognate, was established with its headquarters at Matsumae in the southwestern end of Hokkaido and with adjacent area, Matsumae-chi, as clan territory. There no residence was allowed to Ainus except those who had been living in the area hitherto. At the same time Japanese civilians were prohibited to live outside [439] the area, that is, in the Ainu territory. The Matsumae had exclusive trading rights with the Ainu and established trading and fishing posts along the coast. They traded rice, rice wine, tobacco, salt, pans, knives, axes, needles, threads, lacquer wares, trinkets and so on, in exchange for salmon, skins, craft objects, and certain other items brought over from the continent such as Manchurian trinkets and clothing. During this period the Ainu continued to retain their independence. But in 1799, this part of Hokkaido came under the direct control of the Tokugawa Shognate for the purpose of protecting Japanese interests from the expanding Russian merchantile activities. In those days, foreign vessels, i.e. Duch, Russian, English, and French ships for explorations, were often seen off the coast of Hokkaido, and the Russian colonization of the northern Pacific became active. As a result the Japanese trading stations were turned into military posts. The Japanese established a limited administrative organization over the Ainu territory but did little to interfere in their internal affairs except as requirements of defence dictated. Trading continued as before. In 1821 the Matsumae resumed the administration of [464] the territory and continued the same policy. The Ainu were employed by the Japanese at those coastal posts. In 1854-67 the Matsumae-chi again came [177] under the direct control of the Tokugawa Shogunate. It seems quite reasonable to state that until 1867 the Japanese had relatively slight effect upon the life of the Ainu except through the distribution of Japanese goods among them.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

the life of the Ainu except through the distribution of Japanese goods among them. 175 648

(6) "Basho" or District System.

The "basho" system came into being when the Matsumae clan, establishing itself as a feudal clan under the Tokugawa Shogunate, claimed the "Matsumae clan territory" around the castle it built for its headquarters at the tip of the Woshima peninsula in the southwest Hokkaido and divided part of the Ainu territory on the island and the southern Kuriles into a number of "basho" or districts as fiefs for its vassals (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 2, pp. 102-103). The result was a division of the Ainu territory roughly into two sections, the east territory and the west, with probably either Kamui Cape or Fuoi Cape as boundary (Note 1). At the Kansei period (1789-1800) there existed 43 "basho" in the east Ainu territory and 42 more in the west (ibid., p. 359). Down at the outset of the Japanese administration, that is, immediately before the abolition of the system (1869), the number was 20 in the east and about 25 in the west (ibid., Vol. 3, pp. 145-148). The districts varied considerably in area, their boundaries, it seems, being based on old Ainu observances (ibid., Vol. 2, p. 105). 175 648 631

Within the clan territory no Ainus were allowed to live except those resident hitherto. Nor in the earlier days were any Japanese permitted to inhabit Ainu territory; all they did with the natives was trading of goods once every year at the coast of each "basho". In course of time, though restrictions on Japanese residence continued, there emerged on the coast of each "basho" a trading post, "unjoya", to conduct periodic trading and periodic shore fishing with employment of native labour (ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 105-108). In "basho" with good fishing grounds a census-register was kept at each trading post for the purpose of summoning interior Ainus to compulsory service at the coast and calling out any surplus labour force from other districts under the same contractor. Some Ainus, however, who lived on the upper courses of the larger rivers or in "basho" with poor fishing grounds, were free from the service (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 235). Ainus employed at the coast were mainly young and grown-up men, but sometimes women and even young children were included (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 289). At the close of the "basho" period (1854-1868) Ainus responsible for supporting a family were exempted from shore service; in absence of such in a family some one in his place was chosen for exemption (ibid., p. 366). The "basho" system was abolished in 1869 by the Japanese Government shortly after the establishment of the colonial government for development of Ezo Island. The system was temporarily replaced in some areas by direct government control and in others, including Tokapchi, by the new system of "ryōba-mochi" (fishery holding) [439] [464] 175 464 466 648 175 648

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175 whereby fishing in each district was consigned to some person who was placed
648 concurrently in charge of the postal service in the area. In 1876 these temporary measures were formally all abolished, but a period of transition seems to have prevailed for some time afterwards (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 3, pp. 470-472).

(7) In 1868, with the establishment of the Japanese Government in place of the Tokugawa feudal government, Hokkaido came under the new Government. In that year the Government established its administrative headquarters and in the next year its colonial government, "Kaitaku-shi", in Hokkaido. The Ainu were enrolled in the Japanese census registers by 1875 or 1876 (TAKA-
[421] KURA, 1942, p. 419). Their territory became Government property; land laws were enacted for granting plots of land both to Ainu and Japanese settlers.
[224] While the Ainu were prohibited from fishing salmon and hunting deer and
[226] bears with poisoned arrows, the Government encouraged Japanese settlers to take up farming and keep cattle. Japanese fishermen and hunters came over with techniques superior to those used by the Ainu. Forestry and mining
175 undertakings were set up. From 1883 onwards the Government encouraged
648 the Ainu of Hokkaido to take up agriculture.
241
177 (8) Each Ainu household was granted a plot of land, given agricultural implements and seeds, and received technical instructions from specialist Jap-
[113] anese officials. This land allotment to the Ainu population with accompanying agricultural instruction began in 1883 in the Ashoro district in Hokkaido and spread gradually to other areas throughout the island (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp. 486-491); in the upper Tokapchi area the project was carried out in 1886 (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 6) and in the Azuma area in 1888 (A Chronological Table of Azuma Village History, compiled by the village office). Even before this date the coastal Ainu and part of the interior Ainu had farmed by shifting cultivation, probably under Japanese influence (Note 39) but only on a small scale (p. 41). The practice of agriculture before the land allotment was actually observed in various places by MATUURA, official of the Tokugawa Shogunate, on his explorations of the Ainu territory in Hokkaido in 1857-58 (Note 10).

[182] The introduction of agriculture thus encouraged by the Japanese administrators after 1883 resulted in considerable displacement in the traditional territorial groupings of the Ainu which had been correlated to fishing, hunting, and collecting tracts rather than to any terrain suitable for farming (Note 10).

175 (9) The time horizon for the Ainu life as treated in the present paper is
648 roughly coeval with the final stage of the intermediate period (Notes 6-7).
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[10]

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during which the Ainu, especially those in the interior regions, still led their social life of independence based on gathering activities, with a minimum of intercourse with Japanese through trading and fishing labour. In Tokapchi, for instance, which forms a main subject area for the present study and where Japanese immigration and settlement came later than in other districts, practically no Japanese immigrants were found in ca. 1874 (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 3, p. 299). It was in 1882-1883 when a small party of Japanese settlers called "Banseisha" came to settle near Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi to open up the interior part of the river valley (Note 10). In the upper Tokapchi surveyed by the author not a single Japanese settler was found even at the outset of the land allotment and the agricultural coaching programme launched in that area in 1886 (Notes 8-10). As a result the Tokapchi Ainu remained free in their gathering activities and from Japanese pressure and influence till a comparatively later period. Hunting of deer in the entire Tokapchi area was banned in 1879 to all except the local Ainu (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 437); salmon fishing in the upper Tokapchi, which had been prohibited in 1883, was released later to local natives alone (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 486).

According to the author's informants relating their own experiences, the contemporary social intercourse between the interior Tokapchi Ainu and Japanese was as follows. Conditions in the Azuma valley seems to have been much the same. Every year when it was spring, Japanese agents came by boat to the interior Ainu settlements in order to hire natives for employment at coastal fishing grounds. The selection of the persons to go was decided at the *ukosanio*, assembly of the headman and house-heads of the local group. Such negotiations with Japanese were generally conducted by a representative called "ottena", an old title conferred by the feudal clan on native officers under the "basho" system and still used among the Ainu after its abolition by the Japanese Government. Sometimes the title "ottena" was held concurrently by the traditional headman himself, as at Nitmap and Pipaushi in Tokapchi (Note 23, N12 and P6); sometimes it was held by some one else, as at Moseushi (Note 23, M3 and M14). Ainus hired for labour at the fishing coasts were mostly young men but included some women. Work for women, such as drying of sea-tangles, was sometimes over in a relatively short period; but work for men, chiefly salmon and sardine fishing, usually lasted well into autumn. On return home these men had immediately to go hunting at their huts with fellow members (for examples see Note 41, Shiokoro's and Shurunke's families). In reward for their service at the fishing coasts they received wine and foodstuffs, such as rice and salt. In spring Japanese fur traders also came to their settlements to exchange deer and bear skins, bark clothes and other products for articles of clothing, such as cotton fabrics, articles of taste and food, such as wine, tabacco, rice and salt. The

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[p.90]

II

(10) Historical survey of size and distribution of Ainu settlements.—Reference has already been made in Notes 8 and 9 in Chapter I to the agriculturalization policy for the Ainu adopted by the Japanese Government in its earliest phase of Hokkaido administration (Notes 8-9). The policy was carried out in the northeastern districts in 1883 starting with Ashoro, followed in 1884 by Shiranuka, Akan, Kawakami and Abashiri, and in 1885 in Kusuri (Kushiro), Akkeshi and Shari; for Hitaka district in 1885 in Saru (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 487); for the Tokapchi district in 1886 (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 6, from a publication by Kasai Branchi Office) and for the Azuma district in 1888 (A Chronological Table of Azuma Village History, compiled by the village office). 175 648 241

Prior to this period the natives living near the coasts of the south-western, north-western and south-eastern districts had grown millet and other cereals subsidiary to their gathering. But their farming and the areas under cultivation were insignificant (p. 41). In fact, even those Ainus who practised some farming lived in small settlements scattered over areas chosen for traditional gathering, just as did non-agriculturist Ainus who lived more inland. With many of them the first difficulty lay in finding necessary areas of arable land near enough to their settlements. The consideration led the Government to move those Ainus into more favourable areas as preliminary to enforcing its policy. It was desired at the same time that the hitherto scattered Ainu settlements be brought together into smaller areas which would be convenient for instruction in farming and supervision. Accordingly, the natives of Ashoro, Tushipet and Rikupet were moved to Ashoro, those of Kushiro to tributaries, those of Tokapchi into nine areas on the Tokapchi and three other areas on the Tushipet. Even in fertile Saru there were large-scale removals made by two or three settlements and minor ones by almost all the others (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp. 487-491). On a field survey by the present writer information was collected relating to some of those removals of settlements in the Shikot, Azuma, Nukapira and Tokapchi valleys as well. 175 648 241 166

Now the present article is concerned primarily with the Ainu settlements as they had been prior to this redistribution period. Even before these movements brought about by the agriculturalization programme, some changes had taken place in Ainu settlements in relation to Japanese activities, namely, the fishery development projects by the Matsumae feudal clan. In 1635, for instance, when the Matsumae government opened Kusuri (Kushiro) fishing grounds, they looked for expedient supply of labour from the upper Kusuri Ainu, whom they transferred en masse to the Kusuri coast (HABARA, 1939, p. 175 648 166 [101] [464]

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71). With the development of their administration and the expansion of trading and fishing under their direction, there grew up increasingly larger and more constant demand for workers of great variety for employment at the trading and fishing posts and the watchhouses belonging to the guards. At these places almost all menial work was done by Ainus—cooking, night-and farm-watch and lookout; charcoal making, firewood gathering and helping at smithy, carpenter's shop and stable. Ainus worked also as courier, maid to Japanese officials, transportation coolie, post-house driver, ferryman, etc. Some of the Ainus in regular employment at Japanese establishments eventually settled down around these posts in increasing number (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp. 236-246). The result in time was an emergence at coastal places of new-type Ainu settlements with dependent life on Japanese. The strikingly greater size generally of these settlements and the greater number of houses contained as compared with older-type settlements may be seen from the field surveys made by T. MATSUURA in 1857-1858 (MASAMUNE, ed, 1937). Except for these, few Ainu settlements were found on the coast. A *pishun kotan*, coastal settlement, whose inhabitants practised sea-fishing as voluntary occupation for subsistence, actually stood on river banks near the estuary and not by the seaside (WATANABE, 1954, p. 62). The fact is borne out by T. MATUURA in his record of the distribution of native settlements and his description about them which follows. "Formerly the natives always lived on river courses and never at the seaside. People say that it was only with the development of this district under Japanese management that the natives came to live by the seaside and at the "unjoya", Japanese fishing and trading posts, to be employed as fishing hands" (MASAMUNE, ed, 1937, Vol. I, p. 170). Although the Ainus of *pishun kotan* voluntarily practised sea-fishing, it seems almost certain from the field survey by the present writer that it came only secondary in their scale of economy, which was always predominated by river-fishing, hunting and plant-gathering almost as much as it was with the interior *kimun kotan* Ainu (WATANABE, 1954, p. 62).

Before the introduction of the land-allotment programme, in spite of such changes in coastal settlements due to Japanese influence and the serious effects in consequence on the ways of their life, the majority of the Ainu continued their traditional life of gathering in their traditional settlements. The settling of Japanese in the interior areas dates back only to quite recent times. In order to see where and when Japanese immigrants came to settle in the Ainu territory, information was collected from the census manuals for 1957 or 1958 of the local offices in the areas concerned. The results are tabulated as follows:

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Tokapchi District (including Otopuke and Satnai valleys)

Area Number	Name of Area	Year	First and Early Immigration of the Japanese to the Area
1	Shintoku	1897	First immigrants: 2 men.
		1902	Immigrants: 9 families.
		1907	Sudden increase in immigrants owing to establishment of a railway communication.
2	Memro	1886	First immigrants: 3 men.
3	Obihiro	1882	First immigrant: a man (advance party).
		1883	First group immigrants: a party of 32 people.
4	Kamishihoro	1903	First immigrants: a party of 6 men.
5	Otopuke	1880	First immigrant: a man.
		1885	Agricultural instruction to the Ainu by the governmental officials started.
		ca. 1887	The Ainu of the area started, under governmental instructions, emigration to the new settlements in the Tokapchi valley.
		1896	Removal of the local Ainu to the allotted areas in the Otopuke valley.
6	Kasai	ca. 1895	First immigrants: a family.
7	Nakasatnai	1897	First immigrants subsequently came from various parts of the Japanese mainland.
8	Honbetu	1880	Only a few Japanese used to come for barter with the Ainu.
		1896	First immigrant: a man.
		1897	First group immigrants.
9	Ikeda	1879	First immigrant: a family.
		1880	Several hundreds Japanese came to engage in deer hunting and barter, living in temporary huts and Ainu houses located near the junction of the Tushipet river.
		1882	The hunters and merchants dispersed away owing to a sudden fall in the number of deer caused by a heavy snow fall. Only a few remained to settle down.
		1885-1889	Some officials were sent to the area to give agricultural instruction to the local Ainu.
		1886-1892	Several immigrants (less than five).

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Azuma River

Area Number	Name of area	Year	First and Early Immigration of the Japanese to the Area
10	Azuma	1800	Some officials of the Tokugawa Shogunate and the Nambu clan immigrated to the coastal area.
		1870	An immigrant to the coast.
		1881	First immigrant to the interior.
		1887	Second immigrant to the interior.
		1888	The Ainu in the area were brought together to live in a new settlement, given instruction in agricultural technique.

Mukawa River

Area Number	Name of area	Year	First and Early Immigration of the Japanese to the Area
11	Mukawa	1875	A family came to settle, engaged in fishing and running a hotel business.
		1882	First immigrants as farmers: some families.

Saru River

Area Number	Name of area	Year	First and Early Immigration of the Japanese to the Area
12	Hiratori	1870	First immigrants: 2 officials as agricultural instructors. Immigrants subsequently came after them.
		1880	Establishment of a public office at the coastal settlement, Sarufuto.
		1899	Japanese houses totaled 300 or more; total population of the Japanese immigrants about 2000.
13	Hitaka	1905	First immigrant; a man.
		1907	Second immigrants: 3 men.

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For the size and distribution of Ainu settlements in the days of gathering activities, HABARA quotes from 'Hokkaido Kyu-Dojin' (The Former Natives of Hokkaido) published by the Hokkaido Government: "The Ainu combine a few to a dozen houses in a settlement and live scattered over wide areas" (HABARA, 1939, p. 73). TAKAKURA remarks: "An Ainu community used to be extremely small-sized. Tokunai Mogami in "Yezo Zōshi" (A Story-Book of Yezo) (1790) writes: 'In Yezo a settlement is composed of no more than five to seven houses. Ten houses is considered a large one, which is very rare.' "Yezo-Zakki Yakusetu" (Translations from Miscellaneous Foreign Works on Yezo translated by Teiyu BABA at the order of the Naga-

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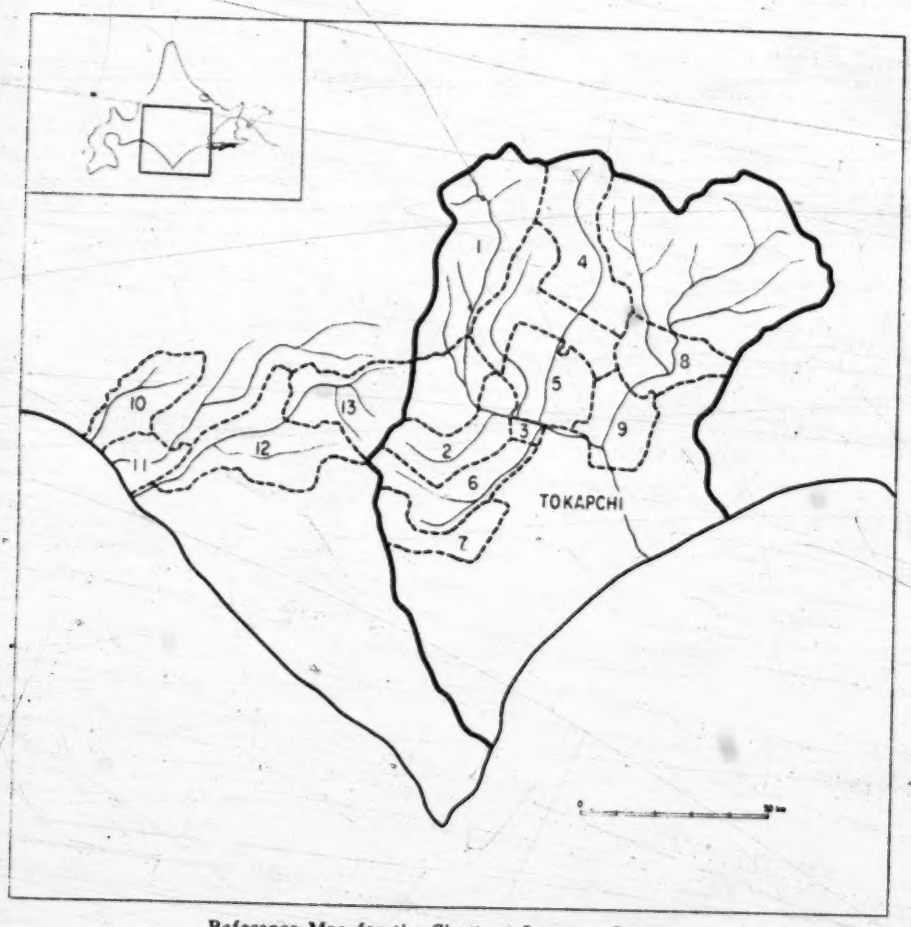

Reference Map for the Chart on Japanese Settlers.
The area numbers correspond to those given in the chart. 1/A

saki magistrate, published in 1809), vol. 2, contains a report of a Dutch merchantship which touched Hokkaido in 1643 saying: 'A settlement of twenty houses is about the largest I ever saw. Six or seven, even, eleven at most, is the number of houses in a village. And these settlements lie far between, seldom less than a mile apart'. In fact, according to records of the Kansei and Kyōwa eras (ca. 1790 down to the later 1810's) when Japanese influence first extended to these areas ("Kondo Seisai Zenshu", Complete Works of Seisai Kondo, vol. 1, p. 29), out of twenty-five settlements in six

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1/A. [For data pertinent to this map, see pages 92-93--Analyst]

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175 361 "basho" (districts) on Etorof of the Kurile Islands not one contained twenty houses. Only a few had a population of more than a hundred. In some cases a single house constituted a settlement" (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 27).

[114] For more concrete and comprehensive data on the size and distribution of Ainu settlements in those gathering days, reference should be made to T. MATUURA, "Yezo-Nissi-shū" (Collected Diaries in Yezo, edited by A. MASAMUNE, 1937). The book covers a series of explorations made in Ainu territories in 1857-1858 by Takeshiro Matsuura, an official of the Tokugawa Shogunate. In spite of the extremely great value of the data it contains, the book has never received a wide utilization it deserves. Hence the data from his diaries have been tabulated by the present writer as follows:

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Tokapchi River (in descending order of location)

Name of Settlement	Number of Ainu Houses	Number of Household Members in Each House	Remarks
Kamuiroki	1	4	
(No name mentioned)	2	5, 4 (the latter represented by an old woman).	Located near Satteki.
(No name mentioned)	2	2, 8	
Makunbetu	1	4	
Nitomafu (Nitmap)	3	23 in total	Arayok, the headman, and his lineage.
Okatomanai	3	2, 5, 7	
Hibaushi (Pipaushi)	2	(Number not stated)	
Chifuru	1	5	
Saoroputo	3	4, 5, 5	
Memroputo	2	4, 4	
Bibairuputo (Pipairuputu)	8	2, 2, 3, 4, 4, 6, 6, 7	
Obereberefu	2	4, 4	
Nubuka	4	(Number not stated)	
Hetchara	1	(Number not stated)	
Jiroto	5		
Horonokotcha	2		
Iikanhetu	10		
Kamokinai	4		
Yamwakkahira	Some		Some millet fields.
Furukéshi (Chyota)	8		
Onnenai	2		
Tohioka	2		
Seyoi	4		
Tanneota	6		
Barautuka	2		

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(The river forked here into two streams)			
Aneshum	6		
Nutabeto	3		
Urahoroputo	2		
Obekkohashi	9		
Betumoshiri	3		Being a ferry station at the river mouth.
Osaushi	11		Located by a Japanese seine-fishing ground.
Ootunai			A Japanese fishing and trading post near the river mouth.
Shikaripet River, a tributary of the Tokapchi			
	16 houses in total		
Otopuke River, a tributary of the Tokapchi			
	21 houses in total		
Tushipet River, a tributary of the Tokapchi			
	27 houses in total		
Ashoro River, a tributary of the Tushipet			
	13 houses in total		

Azuma River (in descending order of location)

Name of Locality	Number of Ainu Houses	Remarks
Ofumusenai	3	
Tonika	5	Plots cultivated by the Ainu.
Shiinai	5	
Kimunkotan	10	Many cultivated plots.
Funawatashi (named in Japanese meaning a ferry station)	3	The most downstream Ainu settlement located near the estuary.

Mukawa River (in descending order of location)

Name of Locality	Number of Ainu Houses	Remarks
Ninatumi	5	
Hattaruse	4	
(No name described)	6	

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Hohetufuto	15	Ainu houses continuously distributed crossing over small streams adjacent to each other, the Wennai, the Toyomanai, and the Yukoronai.
(No name described)	6	Located near Shufushinai.
Kaikuma	6	
Shittekinai (Ruheshihe)	4	
Kinaushi	8	
(No name mentioned)	2	
Ocharusenai (Ruheshihe)	3	
Ichimifu	6	Many plots cultivated by the Ainu.
Niwan	6	
Kinaushi	5	
Yukhetu	8	
Kirikachi	4	
Osannefu	1	
Moihetu	7	Many plots cultivated by the Ainu.
Kaanai	4	
Kenashoro	4	
Impoppe	6	
Chin	10	
Mukawaputo	4	Located near the estuary. A ferry- and rest-station along the coast-road linking Japanese fishing posts.

Saru River (in descending order of location)

Name of Locality	Number of Ainu Houses	Remarks
Horosaru (Porosaru)	22	Many plots cultivated by the Ainu.
Osatnai	20	
Penakori	11	
Kankan	3	
Bihaushi (Pipaushi)	15	Cultivated plots.
Nifutani (Niputani)	27	
Hiratori (Piratori)	31	
Saraha (Sarupa)	19	
Shumunkotu	30†	Many cultivated plots.
Hitaraba (Pitarupa)	3	
Biraka (Piraka)	24	Cultivated plots. The most downstream settlement.
Nukabira River, a tributary of the Saru		
Nukkehetu (Nukkipet)		House number not described.
Niyoi	9	
Shikerehe	5	

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Ishikari River

The main stream (in descending order of location)

Name of Locality	Number of Ainu Houses	Remarks
Wenbetsu	5	
Asakara	1 (or 2?)	
Kinkushibetu	2	Each represented by an old woman.
Ochinkaba	1	
Mem	5	Each of two of the houses represented by an old woman.
Betchiushi	6	
Ijan	3	
Betubara	2	
Tokufuto	2	Cultivated plots.
Tuishikari	1 at least	Located by a Japanese fishing station "banya".
Ishikari		Japanese fishing and trading post "unjoya" near the estuary.
Yuhari River, a tributary of the Ishikari		
Taikeshi	3	Cultivated plots.
Tapkofu	1	Cultivated plots.
Shikot River, a tributary of the Yuhari		
Osakmanai	5	
Nunnai	2	
Orokkochi	4	
Ruen	3	
Besa (Pesa)	5	
Rankoushi	3	
Chitose (name in Japanese)	15	An Ainu settlement by a Japanese fishing and trading post. Cultivated plots.
Osat	9	
Isarifuto	7	Located by a Japanese fishing station "banya".
(Along the Isari, a small tributary)	9 in total	Many cultivated plots.
Shumamafuto	1	Situated near a Japanese rest-house.

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Teshio River (in ascending order of location)

Name of Locality	Number of Ainu Houses	Number of Household Members in Each House	Remarks
The estuary			A Japanese fishing and trading post, "unjoya".
Teutohitara	1	2	
Toinotafu	1	8	
Aheshinai	3	2, 3, 3	
Tonbeppo	2	6, 7	
Otoinefu	1	5	
Okurumatomanai	1	12	
Henkeniubu	2	2, 4	
Nayorofuto (Naibuto)	2	3, 5	At the junction of the Nayoro R.
(The river forked here into two streams)			
Main Stream:			
Kenefuchi	1	9	
Utu	3	4, 4, 4	One of the houses represented by an old woman.
Kunkattekkuru	3	4, 6, 8	
Sattekuhetu	3	3, 3, 4	
Nayoro River:			
Chirusushi	2	2, 5	
Henkekiushi-hitara	1	7	
Chinomi	2	2, 6	
Kamuicham	1	4	
Toushumakomanai	2	3, 5	
Shufunuto	1	7	

Kusuri (Kushiro) River (in descending order of location)

Name of Locality	Number of Ainu Houses	Remarks
Kutcharo	9	Located by Kutcharo Lake.
Teshikaka	8	One of them represented by an old woman.
Kumaushi	1	
Tohro	16	Located by Lake Tohro near the coastal plain.
Kusuri		A Japanese fishing and trading post near the estuary.

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Akan River, a tributary of the Kushiro		
Ikitaraushi	1	
Akihetu	3	
Soushi	3	
Fuushinai (Shitakaro)	4	2 houses were represented by an old woman respectively.
Shitakaroputo	5	The most downstream settlement. 2 houses represented by an old woman respectively.

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(11) To quote from a report on the Saru Ainu: "The word *kotan* is used in two ways: as a residential area, and as a territorial group forming an integrated social unit. The *kotan* in the latter sense had an hereditary chief, called *kotan kor kur*". And again: "The two territorial groups (the two *kotan* of Panke-Pirautur and Penke-Pirautur), though distinct as residential areas, were socially and politically one Pirautur *kotan* ruled over by a single chief. So was Penakori; though divided now in two separate areas, it has always been a single *kotan* politically". (IZUMI, 1951, p. 33). No attempt, however, has been made to study more minuntely the inner-structure and interrelationship of these two groups.

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(12) For the kinship organization of the local group, a conclusion has already been offered by TAKAKURA on various historical documents, as follows: "Such *kotan* as came under our observation were more complex, embracing elements from other *kotan* besides their own kin: some of the larger *kotan* comprised of a mixture of more than two kin groups. But the core and substance was an extremely narrow kin group" (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 28).... The chief of a *kotan* as kin group (*kotan koru kuru*, *kotan* owning man) was naturally the family head (*chise koru kuru*) of the head house (*porochise*) as well as the head of the kinsmen (*utarapake*) (ibid., p. 29). "In time the *kotan* came to embrace a number of non-consangunity elements from other areas, but it was ruled out to receive any except through some kinship relations. A mere territorial relationship might mean a proximity of residence but little social integration" (Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed, 1944, p. 59).

[622]

A report by K. SUGIURA and S. IZUMI on a joint survery they made of the Saru Ainu in the summer 1951 fails to shed much light on the role of kinship in the Ainu local group. In fact, practically all they have to say on the subject is: "It is acknowledged by elders of the Saru basin that formerly some *kotan* were organized by the male members of the *shine* (one and the same) *itokpa*. But changes in the *kotan* in recent times make it extremely difficult for the writers to verify their view. As seen today, a *kotan* may embrace more than two *ekashi ikiru*; yet some *kotan* carry suggestions that

[114]

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241 (39) Origin of plant cultivation among the Ainu.—According to the latest
● 175 research by TAKAKURA, the oldest literature on Ainu farming is contained
114 in "Recorded Talks on the Ainu" written by Kanzan MATSUMIYA who visited Hokkaido in 1710 in company with the administration inspector of the Tokugawa Shogunate (TAKAKURA, 1957). It is a simple description of the farming conducted by natives in the vicinity of the Matsumae Area or clan territory. Then comes a more detailed account in an official document of the Matsumae feudal clan dated 1715, "A Report submitted by Matsumae Shimanokami in the Fith Year of Shotoku." The conclusion drawn by TAKAKURA is that even before 1715 small-scale farming had been practised by the Ainu in south-west Hokkaido but that no definite evidence is yet available to prove its introduc-
[177] tion from the Japanese (ibid., p. 15). "A History of Hokkaido" states more definitely that, in spite of its obscurity of origin, Ainu farming may be safely regarded as modeled on Japanese farming in view of the crops grown and the extent and the methods of cultivation. Millet, Deccan-grass and turnips were about all the crops raised, and their cultivation, according to the Matsumae report of 1715, seems to have been confined to the area between Shiraoi in the east and Shikotan and southward in the west. There are, however, indications that some farming was practised also in Tokapchi and at Shiranuka in Kushiro (Hokkaido-cho, ed., 1937, Vol. 2, p. 215). Takeshiro MATSUURA, an official of the Shogunate who explored the Ainu territory in 1857-58, recorded his observations of cultivated plots found all over the areas he visited except the depths of such great rivers as the Ishikari, the Tokapchi and the Teshio (Note 10). The old Ainu agricultural implements and techniques are described in detail in HAYASHI's article (HAYASHI, 1958).

361 (40) A generalized statement regarding the stability of Ainu settlements on Hokkaido may be found in HABARA's quotation from 'The Aborigines of Hokkaido' published by the Hokkaido government. "Nomadic habits are unknown to the Ainu; however, they have not infrequently moved for reasons such as pressure from other settlements or facilities found in a new site.... The great majority, however, have lived for generations in the same places" (HABARA, 1939, pp. 73-74). The other quotations cited by HABARA from old documents in discussing this problem and the interpretations of, and reconstructions on, those documents offered by him, seem to impress the reader as if the Ainu in general had a moving or migratory habit (ibid., pp. 107-112). But as far as the inland Ainu surveyed by the present writer were concerned, there is not the slightest evidence of a general habit of frequent migrations, although at times some individual families moved for hunting purposes or went on a visit to distant relations and, on rare occasions, might even have stayed over several years, as seen in Notes 16, 24 and 25. Nor is

2: Schrenck--152 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island
Ainu AB6

F.J. /74 cont./
175 ethnographically, and we are indebted to Ph. F. von Siebold for
636 its publication (2); I mention it now only because one can gather
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2. "Tô-tats ki ko," that is, "Journey to Eastern Tartary" (Nippon, VII, pp. 167-196).

from it that there were no Japanese settlements along the west coast of Sakhalin at that time. There is no mention in it of any in Ssiranussi either, to which Mamia Rinsô went first and where he spent three days in preparation for further travels; in his report he mentions only the trade of the Japanese in this place (3).

3. Op. cit., p. 187.

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Though the Japanese settlements on Sakhalin were small in number and extent in the beginning, they immediately had the result that a part of the Ainu became dependent on the Japanese. The chief reason for this was the circumstance that the latter, in order to broaden the scope of the very rewarding fishing along the coast of Sakhalin, needed the help of the Ainu. Now since among the Ainu, with the unconcern that characterizes all primitive peoples, it always happened that they suffered want and distress after the insufficient winter supplies were consumed, it was not difficult for the Japanese to find

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laborers among them in exchange for food and clothing. Once they were won over, however, they soon degenerated into permanent, completely dependent laborers and menials of the Japanese because of the impossibility of working for themselves in the future, the situation in which they now saw themselves put, because of small advances that made them debtors of the Japanese, because of various promises, threats, and in general the pressure of a civilized people superior to them who were already acquainted with their weaknesses on Jesso /Yesso (Hokkaido)/. As Fr. Schmidt correctly pointed out (4), the

4. "Histor. Bericht." etc., op. cit., p. 106.

Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island

F.J. 175 636 648 466

/74 cont./ originally voluntary labor by the Ainu for the Japanese soon became forced labor. Needless to say, the latter, in order to be certain of their laborers, tried to keep them always in their vicinity, and /75/ hence there was assembled around the Japanese settlements a large population of dependent Ainu; whole villages were formed, while their former dwelling sites became deserted.

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F.J. 175 636 361

At the same time, the Japanese steadily enlarged their settlements on Sakhalin. Up to the year 1854, however, this took place only very slowly and gradually. Aside from Aniwa Bay they spread primarily along the west coast of Sakhalin from Ssiranussi northward. In the fall of 1853, when the Russians founded the Murawjof Station in the vicinity of Kussun-kotan, the Japanese had three large or chief settlements on Sakhalin, Kussun-kotan, Ssiranussi, and Endungomo (Tunai, Mauka) (1),

F.J. [113]

1. Schmidt, "Historischer Bericht," etc., op. cit., p. 105. A. D. Brylkin, "Statist. und topograph. Nachrichten über das südliche Sachalin" /Statistical and Topographical Information on Southern Sakhalin/ (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. XXV, p. 278).

between which, along the coast, in the Ainu villages or even separate from them, there were many sheds and warehouses for storing supplies of fish, and here and there isolated Japanese dwellings used only in summer. These houses extended to the north for a stretch beyond Endungomo; Lieutenant Rudanofskii, who traveled through southern Sakhalin from the Murawjof Station in the winter of 1853/54, found the last, northernmost house of this kind on Tokmako Bay, only a little to the north of Endungomo, and the last Japanese storehouses in Tubu, Notossam, and Paikassabussi. In that winter, by the way, the Japanese had also left Endungomo temporarily, as they were accustomed to do, because their boats were exposed to all kinds of dangers during the winter in the only slightly protected bays of this part of Sakhalin.

F.J. 175 175 648 476 461 221 A 175 175 175 464 648

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During the summer, however, an Ainu population larger than almost anywhere else on Sakhalin was concentrated around Endungomo for the Japanese fishing. Rudanofskij estimated the crowd that welcomed him upon his arrival at 300 persons in itself, but, according to the Ainu themselves, their number was said to amount to about 700 there (2). Just as Endungomo lived on fishing, Ssiranussi lived primarily on trade. These settlements, in contrast to Kussun-kotan, where several Japanese officers were also permanently stationed, bore a different character -- that of purely fishing and trading centers. These latter interests were so essential to the Japanese on Sakhalin that their greatest fear at the time of the founding of the Murawjof Station was that the Russians might alienate the Ainu from them and through that destroy their fishing and trade there. Therefore, when this station was abandoned in May, 1854, at the outbreak of the Crimean War, the Japanese hastened to extend and to strengthen their settlements on Sakhalin as much as possible in the meantime, so that in case of the eventual return of the Russians they would have effective possession of the entire Ainu territory on the island. The most fantastic rumors concerning this Japanese expansion quickly spread, not only among the Ainu, but also among their northern neighbors, the Gilyak. When, in the winter of 1854/55, I was at the Nikolayev Station preparing for my first trip to Sakhalin, the Liman Gilyak brought me the /76/ strangest accounts concerning this: besides the true information that the Japanese were appearing in greater numbers on Sakhalin that year and had not left even for the winter, they also told me that already that summer by means of emissaries who had gone to Cape Lasaref /Lazarev/ and Tschomi, they had spied on the activities of the Russians in the

F.J. 175 636 439 443 648

2. The above information was taken from Rudanofskij's handwritten travel journal, which he kindly let me use. I do not know whether it has been published in full anywhere.

F.J. 648 636 175

2: Schrenck--247 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island
Goldi RY3

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/118 cont./

3. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, pp. 178, 198, note 3: also Nippon, I, p. 131).

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Tyre also gave the name as "S'janta," with which, according to him, the Ainu and after them the Japanese designate his people. And this leads us to what I consider the true origin of this name. It comes from the Gilyak. "Jant" or "Janta" is the Gilyak name for the Goldi. Now, since, on the one hand, the Gilyak are the immediate neighbors of the Ainu on Sakhalin and, on the other hand, the major and certainly the oldest middlemen in their trade with the Amur peoples up to the Manchu, it is scarcely conceivable but that the Ainu first became acquainted with the most numerous and most widespread of these peoples, the Goldi, through the Gilyak. And thus it is understandable that they also accepted the Gilyak name for them, only changed slightly in accordance with their language, and extended this name to the Olcha, who in their eyes were members of the same people (4).

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4. When, therefore, in a Russian document dated 1789, which Middendorff found among the archival papers in Udskoi Ostrog (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 102, note) it is said that the Tungusic name for Sakhalin is "Jankur," one can easily recognize in it, by both the initial and the final syllables, the above-mentioned Ainu designation, through the mediation of the Gilyak, for the Tungusic Amur peoples visiting their island.

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/119/ Though the name Santan or S'janta is plainly used by the Ainu and Japanese on Sakhalin for the Olcha as well as for the Goldi, this is not at all the case in the travel report by Mamio Rinsô. Along the Amur he only stayed in the areas of the

F.J. 175 /122 cont./

Sakhalin begins to the north of the Kitosi region still inhabited by the Ainu (1). According to the pertinent map, however,

1. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 191).

the latter, with its north end, extended to Porokotan (2), and this

F.J. [114]

2. On the map to which we refer (with the inscription "Mogami Tok'nai" 1786, see above, p. 248, note 1) there is written "Torokotan," evidently only the result of a printing error or confusion between p and t on the part of the Japanese, the adjoining map, inscribed "Mamia Rinsô 1808," on which the same place is called "Porokotan," shows.

is, as we saw above (3), at the same time the Pilja-wo of the

3. See above, pp. 29, 30.

Gilyak, their last village to the south, where they already live intermixed with the Ainu. At the present time a mixed population of this kind is advancing to the north of Pilja-wo, as was explained in detail above. This may not have been the case at that time, or not to the same extent, and the two peoples concerned may have been much more distinctly separated, though mixture through marriage has always taken place. If that is true, then the entire change in the boundary situation between the Gilyak and the Ainu that has taken place there from the time of Mamia Rinso's visit to these regions to mine is only that a somewhat more pronounced or more widespread mixture of the two has occurred, probably because even then some of the Ainu fled northward to the Gilyak out of fear of the Japanese, just as happened quite notoriously later when the Japanese colonization

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131 /122 cont./
175 began to spread rapidly (4). There are no reports at all for
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4. See above, p. 154.

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[648] evaluating a possible change in the boundaries of the Gilyak area on the east coast of Sakhalin, since that part of the island was visited neither by earlier travelers nor by the two Japanese mentioned above.

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131 In summarizing everything that has been said about the Gilyak up to now, we are able to draw the conclusion that, so
175 far as our historical information concerning this people extends, which does not cover a very great period of time, no considerable change or shift of their habitation sites has taken place. Whether
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[174] and how such might have taken place in prehistoric times, however, can only be judged as a conjecture on the basis of other facts and phenomena, which we shall discuss later.

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175 While we lack historical information on the Gilyak going back very far, this is by no means the case with respect to the
131 Ainu. This is true, however, for only a part of this people,
184 particularly those who are beyond the scope of this work. The farther they were to the south, the earlier the Ainu emerge from the darkness of the prehistoric period, according to the extent and as a consequence of their contacts with the Japanese: they were first observed on Nippon, then on Jesso /Yesso/, and, finally, on Sakhalin and the Kuriles. Since their whole area of distribution /123/ consists of islands which are separated by straits with rapid currents in part, and the Japanese only gradually spread northward from island to island, the oldest reports concerning the southern Ainu and those concerning the northern ones are far apart, and whereas the former are two and a half
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175 millenniums old, the latter go back only as many centuries.
131 According to Siebold (1), at the time of the founding of Japan
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1. Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht. tot de ontdekk. van Maert. Gerr. Vries; benev. eene verhand. over de Aino-taal en de voortbrengs. der Aino-landen

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1. (cont.)
/Geographical and Ethnographical Results from the Discoveries of M. G. Vries, with a Discussion of the Ainu Language and the Products of the Ainu Region/, Amsterdam, 1858, pp. 92, 116.

under the founder of the Mikado dynasty, Zinmu, about 660 B.C., the northern part of Nippon was inhabited by Ainu, who in the history of Japan are called "Asuma Jebisu," i.e., wild men of the east. They were settled principally in the present districts of Mutsu, Dewa, and the northern part of Jetsigo, which at that time were called "Jebisu no Kuni," the land of the wild men (2). Even in the seventh century after Christ the Ainu lived

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2. In Chinese history, according to Siebold (op. cit., p. 116), from whom we get this information, it is first under the Han dynasty (189 B.C. to 30 A.D.) that there is mention of the tribe of the "Mao-min" (Ainu), who lived on the opposite side of the eastern sea and had hair all over the body. Likewise, in the history of the Sui dynasty (608 to 622 A.D.) reference is made to the "Mozin" people, which consisted of 50 hordes and lived in the mountains in the northwest of the country of Woke (Japan).

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in the first two provinces south to 38° north latitude, but were constantly at war with the Japanese. At the beginning of the ninth century the rule of the Mikado already extended over all of Nippon; the Japanese advancing northward, however, still had to fight the Ainu constantly until the latter were finally completely subjugated and in part became amalgamated with the conquerors, in part were annihilated or driven out. Many

Ainu AB6
Early Japan AB3
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island

A E.J./123 cont./Many of those who refused to accept the yoke of the Japanese fled across the Ssangar Straits to their countrymen on Jesso. The Japanese had first reached this island in 658 under Prince Abehirafu and had founded settlements at the mouth of the Siribesi, which, however, were destroyed by the Ainu in 729 (3). Toward the end of the twelfth century (1189) the

3. Siebold, Nippon, I, p. 125.

Japanese general, Jositsune, fled to Jesso and, as Siebold says (4),

4. Op. cit., pp. 126, 168.

sowed the first seeds of culture among the Ainu on the east coast. It was not until the fifteenth century (1443) (5), however, that the

5. Not in the fourteenth century, as Siebold, Aardr. en volk. toel., p. 93, says, in contradiction to his statement in Nippon, I, p. 126.

Ainu, and, to be sure, first those of southern Jesso, were brought under the rule of the Mikado. It is not known definitely when the Japanese, advancing northward, first crossed over to Sakhalin (Krafto), but at the beginning of the seventeenth century (1605-1622), Kinfiro, the Governor of Matsmai, had already sent out expeditions to make a map of Sakhalin, but they only advanced to Ussijam and Naritari (6) with the greatest difficulties,

6. Kannemon, "Jeso-ki, ou Descr. de l'île de Jesso /Jeso-ki, or Description of the Island of Yesso/," transl. from the Japanese by Titsingh (Annales des Voyages, ed. by Malte-Brun, Vol. XXIV, Paris, 1814, p. 162). Likewise, obviously from the same source, Klaproth in the supplement to Rinsifée's, San kokf tsou ran to sets,

FJ. 175 654 [113]

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6. (cont.) ou Aperçu génér. des trois royaumes, Paris, 1832, p. 192. Cf. also Siebold, Nippon, I, p. 126, where the first place is called Usisjam (in Klaproth, and others, also Utsusijam).

and then followed, after a longer interval, the voyages of Mogami Tok'nai and of Mamia Rinsô. Finally, the southern Kuriles /124/ were accidentally discovered no earlier than 1672 by a coastal vessel driven off course (1).

1. Kannemon, "Jeso-ki," op. cit., p. 210; Rinsifée, San kokf tsou ran to sets, p. 209; Siebold, Nippon, I, p. 126.

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The first information on the Ainu, and, to be sure, first on those of Jesso, that Eruopeans collected comes from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. We owe it to the Jesuit Fathers, Aloisius Froes (1565) and Hieronymus de Angelis (1622), to the representative of the English Trading Company, John Saris (1613), and to the head of the Dutch trade in Japan, Françoys Caron (1639 and 40). A few years later (1643) the Dutch seafarer Vries came into contact not only with the Ainu on Jesso, but also on Sakhalin, in the bays of Aniwa /Aniva/ and Patience, and on the southern Kuriles (2). All the writers named give their notes,

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2. Witsen, Noord en Oost Tart., ed. of 1692, Part 2, pp. 46-62; ed. of 1705, pp. 128-152. Siebold, Aardr., etc., pp. 93 ff. Bickmore, "The Ainos or hairy men of Yesso, Saghalien and the Kurile Islands," pp. 14 ff. (Amer. Journ. of science, May, 1868). The latter says

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2. (cont.)
that, according to Krusenstern, Hieronymus de Angelis had come to Sakhalin in 1620, presumably as the first European. I do not know of any place, however, where Krusenstern has said this and I find nothing about it in Siebold.

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in part very interesting, on the Ainu, without designating them by a separate name. The name "Aino" /Ainu/ is found in the European literature for the first time in a work by Eliud Nicolai published in Munich in 1619 (3), in which Jesso, also for the first

3. Newe vnd warhaffte relation, von deme was sich in beederley, das ist, in den West- und Ost- Indien zugetragen /New and true account of what happened in beederley, that is, in the West and East Indies/, etc. (cf. Siebold, Nippon, I, p. 151).

time, is mentioned as a separate island, inasmuch as it is said that all earlier maps commit the error of "omitting above Japan (Nippon) a large island called Jezo by the Japanese, Aino-moxoti (Aino-mosiri, i.e., Aino Island) by the inhabitants." Perhaps this book did not become sufficiently well known or perhaps the name of the people was not surmised from the name of the island; suffice it to say that the Ainu remained without any special designation for some time yet, and even La Pérouse and Broughton, who came in contact with them on Jesso and Sakhalin, have no special name for them (4). Only after

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4. Both designate the Ainu only in terms of the respective islands which they inhabit. Thus, Broughton calls the Ainu of Jesso simply the inhabitants of Insu, as they

2: Schrenck--260 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Ainu ABC

/124 cont./

4. (cont.)

175 101 113 themselves are said to call this island (A Voyage of discov., London, 1804, pp. 89, 272; cf. also Klaproth, in Langsdorff's Bem. auf einer Reise um die Welt, Vol. I, p. 303). In passing I should mention that, according to Golownin /Golovnin/ (Zapiski o prikliuch. ego v" plienu u Iapontsev" /Notes on His Adventures during His Captivity among the Japanese/, Pt. III, p. 156, note 1) the name that the Ainu of Jesso are said to give their island sounds similar, namely, "Einso-zi," or simply "Einso," from which, corrupted by the Japanese and Europeans, their present name arose. On the other hand, however, an obvious conjecture is that "Einso," or, as I should prefer to spell it, "Ainso" (in Russian in Golownin: ЭЙНЗО /Eynzo/), arose from the above-mentioned "Aino-mosiri" and therefore simply means "Ainu Island." As Broughton did with respect to the inhabitants of Jesso, so did La Pérouse designate the Ainu of Sakhalin simply as "Ségaliens" or "Oku-Jessois," (since in Japanese Oku-Jesso, that is, Great, High, Upper, or, according to Siebold [Nippon, VII, p. 198], Inner Jesso /Yesso/, referred to the country north of Jesso, although he heard that they themselves call their country "Tschoka" (Voyage aut. du monde, Paris, 1797, Vol. III, pp. 36, 115, 118). Krusenstern inquired about this name in vain on Jesso as well as on Sakhalin (Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, p. 51), and, according to Fr. Schmidt (in Petermann's Geogr.

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4. (cont.) Mittheilungen, 1869, p. 432), it owes its origin to an error, since "tschoka" means "I" and "we" in the Ainu language. (According to Klaproth, too [in Langsdorff's Bemerkung. auf einer Reise um die Welt, Vol. I, p. 302], among the Ainu of Sakhalin "I" is "tschogai"; according to his vocabulary in San kokf, etc., p. 252, it is "toogaĭ, and among the Ainu on Kamchatka, "we" -- "tschogaich"). La Pérouse in his list of Ainu words (op. cit., p. 118) mentions a second name which the natives are said to give for their island, though less frequently than the first; it is "Tanina." Nothing was ever heard later about this alleged name for Sakhalin. Finally, Milet Mureau, the editor of La Pérouse's Voyage, makes the brief remark that the Chinese call Sakhalin "Ta-han" (op. cit., p. 83, note c), which, however, presumably is only a corruption for "Ta-hai," that is, large island, since Iakinf (Statist. Opis. Kitaisk. Imp., St. Petersburg, 1842, Pt. II, pp. 30, 224, note), too, states that among the Chinese Sakhalin is called "Da-tshe-u" (Da-chzheu), i.e., large island. In the history of the Tang dynasty this island is said to be called "Lu-gui" (Iakinf, op. cit., p. 31).

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Krusenstern's trip have Europeans given them the name Aino, /125/ with which they are said to designate themselves (1), and

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1. Krusenstern, Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, p. 51; Langsdorff, Bemerk. auf

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1. (cont.)
einer Reise um die Welt, Frankfort on the Main, Vol. I, p. 282.

his explanation is found in the fact that the word "aino" or "ainu" means roughly "human being" among all the inhabitants of Jesso, Sakhalin, and the Kuriles belonging to the same tribe (2).

2. Klaproth, in Langsdorff's Bemerk. etc., p. 282, note, p. 301; the same, Asia polyglotta, pp. 300, 309; San kokf tsou ran to sets, p. 245.

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Through Krusenstern's voyage the name "Karafuto, Karafto," or "Krafto," known from several Japanese maps and referring to an island located north of Jesso, was identified with Sakhalin (3).

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3. Krusenstern, op. cit., pp. 49, 52, and others. As early as 1802 the map center in St. Petersburg had published a map on which the island of "Karafuto" was drawn on the basis of a Japanese map which the Japanese, Kodai, whom Ad. Laxmann in 1792 had to bring back to his native country, had brought to Russia (Krusenstern, op. cit., p. 30). In Matsmai, in the possession of a Japanese official, Laxmann saw a map on which Jesso was entered, as well as another island, which bore the name "Karap" (Polonskii, "Kurily." -- Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, pp. 493, 541). Shortly before, in 1785 or 1786, Rinsifée's work, San kokf tsou ran to sets, had been published in Jedo /Yedo (Tokyo)/ (translated into French by Klaproth and provided with some notes,

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3. (cont.)

175 103 119 [113] under the title, San kokf, etc., ou Apercu général des trois royaumes, Paris, 1832), in which (p. 187) there is also mention of the country of "Karafuto" or "Karafto," located north of Jesso and separated from it by a strait. On the maps accompanying the work, this country is represented as a peninsula of the mainland far to the south of the mouth of the Amur, but Rinsifée is not guaranteeing the correctness of this representation, since some geographers simply designated it as an island off the coast of eastern Tattan (Tartary). Moreover, on these maps precisely opposite the mouth of the Amur there is represented a large island stretching from west to east and named "Sagariïn," about which the Japanese author had perhaps received information from Manchurian or Chinese sources. Thus, northern and southern Sakhalin are torn apart here, and while the former was still only an unknown, faraway island to the Japanese, they looked upon the latter as a nearby country which they thought of, thanks to its trade relations with the Manchu, as a peninsula leading directly to the mainland. The familiarity [113] of the Japanese with the name "Krafto" for Sakhalin can be traced back even further, for in the description of Jesso by Araï Tsikugo-no-kami ("Jeso-ki, ou Descr. de Jesso," translated from the Japanese by the late M. Titsingh. -- Annales des Voyages, ed. by Malte-Brun,

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3. (cont.)
Vol. XXIV, Paris, 1814, pp. 191, 205), who around 1720 stayed on this island for a long time, it is said that the Ainu there call the island Oku- or Oki-Jesso (Sakhalin) "Krato" or "Karato." Indeed, even earlier the Japanese interpreter, Kannemon, who visited Jesso before 1652, reported that "Krato" or "Kraft" was a province in Tartary from which the inhabitants of Jesso obtained a special type of fabric ("Kraft-ori," evidently Chinese fabrics coming via Sakhalin) (see his "Jeso-ki," likewise translated by Titsingh, op. cit., pp. 162, 164). In this connection it should be noted that it seems to be these two "Jeso-ki" that Klaproth, during his stay in Irkutsk, used to supplement the information concerning Jesso given by Rinsifée in San kokf tsou ran to sets. I conclude this both from the content of his additions to the last-named work, which are almost identical with the two "Jeso-ki," and from the dates when the two descriptions of Jesso used were written (see Klaproth's preface to the San kokf, etc., p. IV). Only the one date (for Kannemon's "Jeso-ki") is given reduced by a century (1752 instead of 1652), probably as the result of a printing error.

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It was regarded as of Japanese /126/ origin (1), but, according to

1. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, p. 301; Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 198.

/126 cont./

175 103 Schmidt, it comes from the Ainu of the neighboring islands, Jesso, Kunaschir /Kunashir/, and Iturup, and has merely been adopted by the Japanese (2). Presumably, therefore, it is also

2. Petermann's Geogr. Mittheilungen, 1869, p. 432. The above-mentioned statements by Kannemon and Arai Tsikugo concerning "Krato" and "Kraft" also argue in favor of this being a word foreign to the Japanese and brought to them by the Ainu.

peculiar to the Ainu of Sakhalin (3).

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3. Rinsifée (San kokf tsou, etc., pp. 187, 284) points out, however, that the true name of the country called Karafuto by the Japanese was "Taraïkaï" or "Tarakaï, " whereupon Klaproth (San kokf, etc., p. 188, Notes; Asia polygl. p. 301) and Siebold (Nippon, VII, p. 198) regarded the latter as the indigenous Ainu name for the island. Schmidt (Petermann's Geogr. Mitthl., 1869, p. 432) rightly points out, however, that this name probably comes from the village of Taraika located in the Gulf of Patience, which formerly had many trade relations, especially with Manchuria. The latter are of no importance here, however, since the use of the name Tarakaï for Sakhalin was started by the Japanese. They had evidently heard the name of this village from the Ainu and errone-ously took it for that of the island as a whole. In Kannemon's "Jeso-ki,"

/126 cont./

3. (cont.)
Taraika is mentioned as a special place on Krato (Annales des voyages, Vol. XXIV, 1814, p. 162), while over a century later Rinsifée uses the name Taraikaĭ for the entire country. In recent times still another name has been given as the Ainu designation for Sakhalin: according to Dobrotworskij ("Ainsko-russk. slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/." -- Uchen. Zap. Kazansk. Univers., 1875, Appendix, p. 32), among the Ainu this island is called "Trepun-mosiri" (Mizul /Mitsul/, in his Ocherk" ostrova Sakhal. v" sel'sko-khoziaistv. otnosh /Sketch of Sakhalin Island with Reference to Its Agricultural System/, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 126, gives as such a name "Trenun-mussir," or simply "Mussir," that is, island), and accordingly the Ainu from Jesso are said to call their countrymen on Sakhalin "Trepun-mosiri-utara." Finally, it should be mentioned here that besides the above-mentioned names for Sakhalin, the Japanese have many others; it is supposedly called "Narubesi" (San kokf, etc., p. 189), "Kita--sima," i.e., island to the north (of Jesso; cf. Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 198), or also simply "Kita-Jeso," northern Jesso (Araĭ Tsikugo, "Jeso-ki," op. cit., p. 205), etc.

Even though Vries does not designate the natives in the Gulf of Patience with any special name, there can be no doubt on the basis of his description but that in fact Ainu were involved, and not, say, Orok or Gilyak, who, as was shown above, come in contact with the Ainu in that part of Sakhalin, though in small numbers. Thus, we meet this people in 1643, more than two

/126 cont./

175 centuries ago, in the same place that still today forms their
131 northern boundary along the east coast of Sakhalin. That they
[648] have not spread farther to the north since then, since the seacoast north of the Gulf of Patience is still uninhabited for a long stretch, can perhaps be ascribed to the circumstance that the Japanese did not found their first settlements on Sakhalin until the end of the last century and did not extend them, as we saw above, for a long time (4), and therefore did not exert such a

4. See above, pp. 148 ff.

pronounced pressure upon the more distant Ainu as to induce them to move away farther to the north.

175 The spread of the Ainu over the Kurile Islands seems to have
131 proceeded faster and farther in comparison. It has already been
721 mentioned above that they had occupied all the Kurile Islands including Poromuschir /Paramushir/, the last but one coming from the south, prior to the arrival of the Russians on Kamchatka (5).

5. See above, p. 33.

Steller and Krascheninnikof state expressly that this island was inhabited by Ainu ("Kurilen"), who had come over from the island of Onekotan, /127/ and, to be sure, not as long ago as one is inclined to believe, because close ties of hospitality existed between the inhabitants of these two islands, whereas the inhabitants of the more distant islands, on the other hand, often undertook raids on Onekotan, which perhaps may have been the reason for the emigration of part of the population of this island to Poromuschir (1). The next and last of the Kurile Islands,

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1. Steller, Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka, pp. 7, 23, 24; Krasheninnikov", "Opisanie zemli Kamchatki" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh., St. Petersburg, 1818, Vol. I, pp. 145, 146).

Ainu AB6
Kamchadal RY3

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/127 cont./ The next and last of the Kurile Islands, Schumschu /Shumshu/, on the other hand, received its population, not from the south anymore, but from the north, from the adjacent Kamchatka Peninsula. It was not Ainu, but Italmen or Kamchadal, who originally visited this island only to trap animals, but after the arrival of the Russians in Kamchatka, they began to take up permanent residence out of fear of having to pay tribute to the latter and because of quarrels among themselves (2). The names of the islands mentioned also suggest

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2. Steller, op. cit., pp. 7, 30; Krasheninnikov", op. cit., Vol. I, p. 143; Vol. II, pp. 2, 4.

this spread of the Ainu and Italmen over the Kuriles, for in the Ainu language "Poro mosiri" or "Poro-moschiri" means "large island" (3), and "samatsch" is said to mean "island" in the

3. Not simply "island," as Steller (op. cit., p. 7) interprets the name "Buru muschi" and the "Paramusir" made from it, so he thinks, by the Russians.

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Italmen language (4). Moreover, the Italmen on the island of

4. Steller, op. cit., p. 6. This is the reason why the inhabitants of the southern tip of Kamchatka call the inhabitants of the islands "Sumtschuai," i.e., islanders (Steller, op. cit., p. 7.

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Schumschu and on the southern tip did not maintain relations with the Ainu from the more distant islands without mixing with them: for many years they have entered into marriages

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484 with them, and since they moved back and forth between the mainland and the nearest island, and, on the other hand, the Ainu, too -- who, as Steller says, roam about on the sea as the Tartars do on land -- repeatedly came to Kamchatka, a mixed people made up of Italmen and Ainu was formed on the entire southern part of the peninsula and showed many differences in outward appearance and in language from the Kamchadal living farther north (5). It is therefore not surprising that in the be-

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5. Steller, op. cit., pp. 7, 23; Krasheninnikov", op. cit., Vol. I, p. 143; Vol. II, p. 4.

ginning the Russians took the inhabitants of southern Kamchatka for the same people as those inhabiting the islands, the Ainu, and designated them, like the latter, with the name "Kuriles" (6).

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6. Hence the contradiction between the earlier assertions by Müller in his article, "Geographie und Verfassung von Kamtschatka aus verschiedenen schriftl. und mündl. Nachrichten gesammlet zu Jakuzk, 1737 /Geography and Organization of Kamchatka from Various Written and Oral Reports Collected in Yakutsk/" (in the appendix to Steller's Beschreibung von Kamschatka /Description of Kamchatka/ and those by Steller and Krascheninnikof. Müller (op. cit., p. 18) has the Kuriles living on Kamchatka along the east coast as far as Awatscha and on the west coast as far as the Kompakowa River; he speaks of Bolscherezki Kuriles (p. 21); he regards the inhabitants of Schumschu, who, moreover, he has coming from the north, as Kuriles just like those on Poromuschir (p. 45), etc. To be sure, for the Kurile

A K 114 101 175

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6. (cont.)
Islands south of Onekotan, Krascheninnikof gives a faithful translation of Müller's remarks, but for the northern ones, as well as for southern Kamchatka, he ignores them completely, since here he was able to rely upon his own experiences and observations, as well as Steller's. Later (Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. III, 1758 p. 79), Müller agreed with the assertions by Steller and Krascheninnikof and declared that it was nothing but "common usage" among the Russians on Kamchatka to call the inhabitants of the first island and of the mainland to the south of Bolscherezk "Kuriles," whereas they were nothing but Kamchadal with a different language dialectally.

K 103 175 And they carried the same designation, in adjectival form, over to many localities in southern Kamchatka, as is shown by the names Kurilskoje /128/ osero, Kurilskij Ostrog located on an island in the lake named, Kurilskaja Lopatka, etc.

A 101 175 114 As for the origin of the name "Kuriles" for the Ainu on the island chain to the south of Kamchatka, among the Russian writers since the days of Golownin it became, I might almost say, a custom to derive the name of the people from that of the islands, and the latter from their smoking volcanoes (kuryashchiyasya sopki) (1). Steller, however, has already

A 175 114 101 103 113

1. Golovnina, Zap. o prikliuch. ego v" plienu u Iapontsev", v" 1811, 1812 i 1813 g., Pt. III, St. Petersburg, 1816, p. 158; A. Sgibnev", "Bunt" Ben'evskago v" Kamch. v" 1771 g. /The Revolt of Ben'evskii in Kamchatka in 1771/" Russk.

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1. (cont.)
Starina, 1876, March, p. 534). Polonskij ("Kurily."-- Zap. Geogr. Obshch. Po Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 369) went even a step further in that he thought that the name derived from the smoking volcanoes were all the more likely preserved since to the approaching mariner these islands emerged out of the fog in which they were almost constantly wrapped, and thus seemed to be smoking themselves. This derivation of the name "Kuriles" is also repeated in Bickmore's article on the Ainu (Amer. Journ. of Science, May, 1868, p. 18). As an oddity I might give Tronson's assertion that the name Kuriles for the islands came from a lake of the same name (Kurilskoje osero) located in the south of Kamchatka, whose inhabitants had most likely emigrated to the islands (Tronson, Pers. Narrat. of a Voyage to Japan, Kamtsch., Siberia, Tartary, etc. in H. M. S. Barracouta, London, 1859, p. 158).

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Steller, however, has already pointed out that the name Kuriles customary among the Russians for the inhabitants of the like-named islands was connected with the name that the Italmen from Bolschaja reka to Lopatka give to this people and which sounds like "Kuschi" or "Kusi" (2).

2. Steller, op. cit., pp. 6, 7, 30.

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He himself, however, erroneously derives this latter name from a special way of dancing customary among this people, that "Kuschi" would mean something like "dancing" or "jumping" (3).

3. Steller, OP CIT., P. 248, note a.

/128 cont./

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3. Steller, op. cit., p. 248, note a.

G A 101 175 Among their neighbors on Sakhalin, the Gilyak, the Ainu have a quite similar sounding name, "Kughi" (4), which is also in

A G [104] 4. I write gh when the g is strongly guttural, between g and ch.

A [192] general use among the Gilyak of the mainland (5). Undoubtedly

G [113] 5. Middendorff heard the Gilyak in Tugur Bay call the Kuriles "Kuwi" (see his travel report in the Bull. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. Vol. IV, pp. 233, 235; also Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, pp. 615, 618).

all these names have the same origin in that they all, as Klaproth states for the name Kuriles, arose from the word "kur" or "kuru," which means "human being" in the Ainu language (6).

A [113] 6. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, p. 300. In San kokf tsou ran to sets (pp. 183, 184) "kur" is said to mean "tribe /Stamm/, tribus."

A F.J. 175 103 A 101 Moreover, the Kurile Islands, as the Japanese Araĭ Tsikugo noted in 1720 among other valuable reports concerning them, were embraced under the collective name "Kuru-misi" (that is, Land of Man) by the Ainu (7). Here, then, is the simple explanation of that name for the people and the land.

A F.J. 103 175 114 F.J. 113 7. Araĭ Tsikugo, "Jeso-ki, ou Descr. de Jesso," op. cit., pp. 192, 207, 211. Cf. also Klaproth's additions to San kokf tsou ran to sets, pp. 191, 193, 194, -- following the same Japanese source.

2: Schrenck--273 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

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/128 cont./

7. (cont.)
following the same Japanese source. In "Jeso-ki" (p. 211), the Japanese author reports that, according to the inhabitants of Oku-Jesso (Sakhalin Ainu), in the sea to the east there were two islands with the name "Gurumise" and ties this up with the curious conjecture that this information may refer to Greenland, which he had heard of through the Dutch. The editors of the Annales for their part make the remark that "Gurumise" probably were the "Goliai" islands to the north of Sakhalin. Obviously by Goliai they mean the island of Giliat, which was mentioned by Witsen on the basis of old Russian reports (see above, p. 250). Both, however, overlooked the obvious, that Guru-misi itself was "Kuru-misi" and therefore the Kurile Islands. The Japanese call the 37 islands between Jesso and "Kamsikattka or Kamsaska" by the name of "Tsi sima," that is, "the thousand islands" (Rinsifée, San kokf, etc., pp. 193, 195).

ooo explanation of that name for the people and the land.

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/129/ The name customary among the Gilyak for the Ainu also reached the Manchu and Chinese. Iakinf, for instance, on the basis of a Chinese topography, calls the three peoples living on Sakhalin "Fjakã, Eluntschun, and Kuã," the latter of which are undoubtedly the Ainu (1). Similarly, the

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1. Iakinf", Statistich. Opis. Kitaisk. Imp. /Statistical Description of the Chinese Empire/, Pt. II, p. 30, note. He is wrong, however, when he gives the Kuã as the inhabitants of the central part of the island

/129 cont./

A 175 114 101

1. (cont.)
and the Eluntschun (Orok) as those of the southern part, whereas it should be the other way around.

A 101 175 [648]

Similarly, The archimandrite Palladij mentions the "Kuă" (Ainu) among the peoples of Girin Province, from whom formerly, according to Chinese reports, a large tribute in sable furs was collected for the court of Peking (2). We now understand when in the Chinese

A [113]

2. Arkh. Palladii, "Dorozhn. zam. na puti ot" Pekina do Blagovieshch., chrez" Manch'zhuriiu, v" 1870 g. /Travel Notes on the way from Peking to Blagoveshchensk by way of Manchuria in 1870/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. Geogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 399).

imperial geography (3) the "Lerkoje" (4), or, as Pauthier (5)

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3. Tai Tsing hoei tien, Vol. XI; see Ritter, Erdkunde von Asien /Geography of Asia/, Vol. III, p. 444.

4. Ritter adds in parenthesis: "Koje of the maps."

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5. Chine moderne, ou descr. hist., géogr. et litter. de ce vaste empire, Paris, 1853, Part 1, p. 168.

G [103] [101]

writes it, "Li-eurh-kou-yé," are named, among others, among the tributary peoples of the Ssan-ssin district. They are the Sakhalin Ainu, for "Laer, Laerch," or "Laer-mif," is the Gilyak name for Sakhalin (6), and "Koje" or "Kuyé" must, after what has been said, refer to the Ainu.

G [113]

6. Middendorff, too, heard the name

A 101 175 G 101 103 113

/129 cont./

6. (cont.)
"Laer" for Sakhalin among the Gilyak along the Sea of Okhotsk (see his travel report in the Bullet. de la cl. physico-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Part IV, p. 233; also Beitr. zur Kenntniss des Russ. Reichs, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 615).

000 G A 101 after what has been said, refer to the Ainu. The exact Gilyak designation for the Sakhalin Ainu would therefore be "Laer-kughi," which closely corresponds to the above name in the Chinese imperial geography (7). Just as the Ainu and Japanese

G A [101] [103] [114]

7. Might not perhaps also the name "Huyé," which, according to Du Halde (Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, p. 13), several persons in Peking wanted to give to the island of Sakhalin, and about which the Manchu sent to investigate it thought that it was not known to either the natives on the mainland or to those of the island, be only a distortion of the word Kughi or Kuã, that is, of the designation for one people of the island?

borrowed from the Gilyak the designation S'janta for the Goldi (and Olcha), so to the same people do the Manchu and Chinese owe their name for the Ainu. As we shall see later, along with the trade goods that the Gilyak traders carried back and forth between the Ainu and Japanese and the Manchu-Chinese they were also the middlemen among them for those tribal names.

A G [439]

000 /192 cont./

"Ssissa" (5). In view of the lack of any contact between the Amur

S.S. 175 101 174 439 FJ. 101

5. The Chinese traders on the Amur and Sungari use the same name for the Japanese. Even in the Sungari region Venault heard of a "Si-san" country to the north, which he hoped to reach on his trip down the Amur (1850). On the way, he was told by Chinese traders that they themselves never went to Si-san, but only traded with it through the mediation of the Jupi-tatse. On the basis of all the information that he had collected, he suspected that "Si-san" was the island of Karaftu (Sakhalin) (see his "Excurs. dans les parties intér. de la Mandchourie" -- Nouv. Ann. des Voyages, fifth series, Vol. XXX, 1852 [Vol. II], pp. 207, 215, 222, 224).

S.S. [113]

K SS. FJ 101 114 174 177 A 101 A [133] A F.J. 101 175

In view of the lack of any contact between the Amur peoples and the Kamchadal and their completely different languages, the almost identical name that they have for the Japanese indicates that they must have taken it /193/ from the same source. And this source is easily found. It is the Ainu: for the Amur peoples, the Ainu of Sakhalin; for the Kamchadal, the Ainu of the Kuriles. Just as the one bridge, Sakhalin, leads from Jesso /Yesso/, the main island of the Ainu, to the Amur region, so the other bridge, the island chain of the Kuriles, leads from Jesso to Kamchatka. It is known from Japanese as well as European sources that the Ainu of Jesso have a similar name for the Japanese. In the description of Jesso written in the seventeenth century by the Japanese Kannemon and translated by Titsingh (1),

A F.J. [113]

1. "Jeso-ki, ou Descr. de l'Île de Jesso," etc., compiled by the interpreter Kannemon and published in 1632; translated by Titsingh,

A FJ. 101 175 [113]

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1. (cont.) Dutch ambassador to Japan (Ann. des Voyages, Vol. XXIV, Paris, 1814, p. 148). Cf. also Klaproth, in San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou Aperçu génér. des trois royaumes, p. 228, following the same source.

it is said that the natives of this island call the Japanese "Samo." Broughton gives "Ssitscham" (English spelling: "Seecham") as the name of the Ainu from Jesso for the Japanese (2). According to

A FJ. [113] [114]

2. Broughton, A Voyage of discov. to the North. Pacif. Ocean, London, 1804, p. 390. Klaproth evidently repeats the same statement in Langsdorff's Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt, Frankfort on the Main, 1812, Vol. I, p. 303.

Klaproth, it is "Siyamo" (3). Rimskij-Korssakof (4), Rudanofskij,

3. San kokf tsou ran to sets, p. 247.

A FJ. [113]

4. V. R.-K., "Sluch. i zamietki na vintov. shkunie 'Vostok'" /Experiences and Notes on the Propeller Schooner 'Vostok'/" (Morsk. Sborn., 1858, No. 5, Unofficial Part, p. 9).

Schmidt, and others, like I myself, repeatedly heard the Ainu of Sakhalin call the Japanese "Ssisan" and "Ssisam." I know of no specific statement for the Ainu of the Kuriles, but on the basis of the above there can be no doubt but that they, too, have the same designation for the Japanese. And it must certainly be ascribed to a confusion based on a misunderstanding when Kracheninnikof (5) says that the Kuriles designate the Russians

A FJ. 101

A FJ. [114]

5. "Opis. zemli Kamchatki" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh., Vol. II, p. 6).

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●175 342 It is in general use among the Ainu, the closest neighbors of the Gilyak. According to Mamia Rinsô's /Rinzô Mamiya/ description (1), the Ainu of southern Sakhalin first dig a pit of

1. "Tô-tats kiko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 184).

3-4 ken (2) into the ground, then drive in posts at the corners,

[114] 2. According to Siebold, 6-8 meters, which would be too deep, however.

and over that erect a roof of tree bark and branches which projects over the entrance and thus forms a place in front from which steps lead down into the dwelling. The interior arrangement, 175 342 too, is very similar to the Gilyak earth yurts, except that the 354 hearth is on one side, next to the steps, and has an opening in 352 the roof over it, whereas only occasionally, when it is especially 177 cold, is a fire made in the middle of the room on the ground 171 between the lateral sitting and sleeping places; this needs to be done only rarely, however, because these dwellings, as Mamia Rinsô expressly stresses, are extremely warm throughout. Rudanofskij (3), Busse (4), Dobrotworskij (5), and others have given

[113] [129] 3. In the written notes on his trip through southern Sakhalin in the winter of 1853/54, which he made available to me for my use; the same in Podvigi russk. morsk. ofits. na krain. vost. Rossii 1849-1857 g., posmertnyia zap. admir. Nevel'skago /Feats of a Russian Naval Officer in the Far East of Russia, 1849-1857, Posthumous Notes of Admiral Nevel'skoi/, ed. by V. Vakhtin, St. Petersburg, 1878, p. 296.

[113] 4. N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853 i 54 gg., dnevnik" s" 25. Avg. 1853 -- 19 Maia

3/4 [i.e. The earth yurt -- Analyst]

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4. (cont.)
1854 g. /Sakhalin Island and the 1853-1854 Expedition, a Diary from August 25, 1853 -- May 19, 1854/, St. Petersburg, 1872, pp. 97, 98.

5. M. Dobrotvorskii, "Iuzhnaia chast' ostr. Sakhalina, izvlech. iz" ego voenno-medits. otcheta za 1868 g. /The Southern Part of Sakhalin Island, as Derived from Its Military-Medical Report for 1868/" (Izv. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. I, Nos. 2 and 3, Irkutsk, 1870, p. 29); also in his Ainsko-russkii slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/, Kazan, 1875 (Supplement to Uchen. Zap. Imp. Kaz. Univ. 1875 g.), p. 35.

detailed descriptions of them from which one learns that the sleeping places extending along the two sides of the yurt are low plank-beds, as among the Gilyak, but are equipped with drawers, in which I see Japanese influence; that, furthermore, on either side where the plank beds begin, there is a hearth, but in smaller yurts only one in the middle of the dwelling, just as in the Gilyak earth-yurts, and over the hearth there is an opening in the roof for the smoke to escape; and, finally, for the latter purpose a pipe sometimes runs from the hearth to the entrance and rises out of it at a height of about half an arshin, etc. Like the Ainu of Sakhalin those of Jesso / Yesso/ also live in earth yurts in winter (6).

6. Golovnin", Zap. o prikliuch. ego v" plienu u Iapontsev" v" 1811, 1812 i 1813 gg. /Notes on Adventures during Captivity among the Japanese in 1811, 1812, and 1813/, St. Petersburg, 1816, Pt. III, p. 164.

/411 cont./

000 animals for what the latter were doing to them.
G
302 Exactly the same hair style as the Gilyak have is found
171 among their nearest neighbors, the Negda, Olcha, and their
000 fellow tribesmen -- the Orok on Sakhalin (1). It may be pre-

1. Mamia Rinsô ("Tôtats-ki ko," in Siebold's Nippon, VII, p. 189) has already noted for the Orok that they do not cut their hair, but let it hang down over the shoulders or wear it wound into a thick plait at the neck.

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302 It may be pre-
177 sumed that formerly the Ainu, too, had the same or a similar, more or less natural hair style, until they fell under the rule of the Japanese, and under pressure from them, as a sign of submission, adopted their present hair style, essentially similar to the one of the Japanese. As is known, the Japanese shave the hair on the forehead and crown, and at the back of the head they do not let it grow as long as do the Chinese nor plait it in a braid, but cut it to a certain length all around and gather it into a lock which, tied with a ribbon, rests on the crown in the direction of the forehead. Now, with the exception of this last point, which for a primitive people would be too elaborate and inconvenient and also require too much attention and care (2),

2. For example, in order not to disarrange their hairdo when sleeping, the Japanese, instead of a pillow, use a small wooden bench that is hollowed out to conform to the shape of the head.

A
●175 the Ainu imitate their rulers. As early as 1622, Father
302 Hieronymus de Angelis reported that the natives of Jesso /Yesso/
177 shear their hair in front so that there is no hair at the temples, but in the back wear it as long as the Japanese (that is, without a braid hanging down) (3), and Vries added that the women

/411 cont./

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3. Witsen, Noord en Oost Tartarye, second edition, Amsterdam, 1705, Part II, p. 57. Siebold, Aardrijks en volkenkund. toelicht., Amsterdam, 1858, p. 94.

there sometimes shear it all around like the men and sometimes allow it to grow long and put it up like the Japanese women (4).

4. Siebold, op. cit., p. 100.

According to Broughton (5), the women wear their hair, even

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5. A Voyage of discov. to the North Pacif. Ocean, London, 1804, p. 105.

though they cut it all around, longer than the men. According to Krascheninnikof (6), the Ainu of the Kurile Islands shave the

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6. "Opis. zemli Kamchatki /A Description of Kamchatka/" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rossii, Vol. II, p. 258).

hair from the forehead to the crown, but the women cut it only in front so that it does not fall into their eyes. From the photographs presented above (Pl. IV) it can be seen that the Ainu of southern Sakhalin, men and women, have the above-mentioned hair style. /412/ Farther to the north, however, where the Japanese rule comes to an end, the Ainu give up the hair style imposed upon them by the Japanese and wear their hair as the Gilyak do, that is, completely unshorn and plaited into a braid hanging down in the back. And, to be sure, they do this not only, say, on the west coast of Sakhalin in the border places where they live intermixed with the Gilyak, such as Ktheus (Ktausi), Porokotan (Gilyak Pilja-wo) (1), but also along the

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1. Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber. über den Verlauf der physik. Abtheil. der Exped.

G /419 cont./

302 304 171 First, as far as the Gilyak are concerned, I believe I can state with certainty that nothing of the kind occurs among them today. At least no trace of such a custom among them was encountered by me, despite frequent contact with them for several years. This is noteworthy inasmuch as this custom is found among their immediate neighbors on Sakhalin, the Ainu, and more or less among all the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples, even A though it may be gradually disappearing. In the Ainu area, the 302 coloring or tattooing of certain parts of the body is practiced 304 chiefly on Jesso /Yesso/. In the Japanese descriptions of this [175] island, the Jeso-ki of Kannemon (1652) and Araï Tsikugo-no-Kami (1720), it is said that the Ainu women color their lips with the juice of the kudsi-gusa (or mouth-plant) and produce various flower- and cloud-like figures all around the mouth, as well as A on the forehead, face, hands and feet, by means of needle pricks 304 and rubbing in a black substance (1). These tattooings are applied A [113]

1. "Descriptions de la terre Jesso, traduites du Japonais par Titsingh /Descriptions of the Land of Yesso, translated from the Japanese by Titsingh/" (Annales des Voyages, Vol. XXIV, 1814, pp. 155, 196). Cf. also Klaproth, San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou Aperçu génér. des trois royaumes /General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, translated from the original Japanese and Chinese, Paris, 1832, p. 231.

A to the girls in childhood by their mothers. They are also more [175] or less discussed by the European or North American travelers [184] who visited Jesso (2). To be sure, the same custom prevails

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2. For instance, by Vries (Siebold, Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht. /Geographical and Ethnographical Explanations/, p. 100) and later by Broughton (A Voyage of discov. to the North Pacific Ocean, pp. 99, 105),

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2. (cont.)
Krusenstern (Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, p. 74), Langsdorff (Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt /Notes on a Voyage around the World/ Vol. I, p. 285), Bickmore ("The Ainos or hairy men of Yesso, Saghalien, and the Kurile Islands." -- Amer. Journ. of Science, Sec. Ser., Vol. XLV, May, 1868), St. John ("The Ainos, Aborigines of Yeso." -- Journ. of the Anthropol. Instit. of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. II, 1873, p. 249), and others.

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among the Ainu of Sakhalin (3), but the Japanese traveler Mamia

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3. Among the many reports concerning it the one by Dobrotworskij, who spent more than five years (1867-1872) as a physician in Aniwa on Sakhalin, deserves special attention. According to him, the operation of tattooing as it is done by the Ainu on the girls from their tenth year on -- up to four times a year -- is by no means as easy and harmless as one generally thinks. As a result of rubbing the pricked or scratched places on the skin with the oily soot taken from their Japanese kettles, the lips often swell so severely that the mouth cannot be opened and for three or four days the patients must live on only liquid food which they suck through a tube. The tattooing starts in the middle of the upper lip and is gradually continued from there. (Dobrotvorskii, "Iuzhn. chast' ostr. Sakhalina." -- Izviestiia Sibirsk. otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. I, Nos. 2 and 3, Irkutsk, 1870, p. 27. The same, Ainsko-russk.

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Ainu A86
Kamchadal RY3

A 304 175 [113]

/419 cont./

3. (cont.)
slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/, supplement to Uchen. Zap. Imp. Kazansk. Univ. 1875g., p. 33.

A 304 184

Rinsó (1808) (4) already noticed that the women there /420/ tattoo

4. "To-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 182).

themselves more feebly than those from Jesso and that in general this custom becomes less frequent there as one goes farther inland, that is, farther north from Aniwa. Finally, the same custom prevails among the Ainu of the Kurile Islands, and, indeed, according to Krascheninnikof (1), it extends to both sexes

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1. Krasheninnikov", "Opisanie zemli Kamchatki" (Polnoe sobranie putesh. po Rossii, Vol. II, St. Petersburg, 1819, p. 258).

there, but the men content themselves with blackening the middle of the lips, while the women tattoo themselves all around the mouth and also on the hands and arms almost up to the elbows.

K 302 [304]

It is very noteworthy that the ancient Italmen on Kamchatka, though surrounded by tribes among whom tattooing was a matter of course, did not themselves adhere to this habit, or bad habit, but only painted themselves white and red, which, before the arrival of the Russians, they practiced very heavily, "like monkeys," according to Steller, but later "much more moderately, in the fashion of the Cossack women" (2).

K [113] [386]

2. Steller, Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamschatka, p. 300. Krascheninnikof, op. cit., p. 68. To paint with white, the Italmen used either decayed wood or a naturally calcined mica which occurs here and there

G /449 cont./ Mamia Rinsô (4),
323 to be sure, reports about the Ainu of southern Sakhalin that they
171 make earthenware vessels, and, to be sure, of two kinds, the
A one of about six to seven inches in diameter with ears on two
323 sides, tojes'ju, i.e., earthen pans, the other called kamui'sju,
[177] i.e., divine pans, but one cannot fail to recognize the recent
A Japanese origin of this art. In the seventeenth century, when
[175] Vries and his companions discovered Jesso and the nearby Kurile
[172] Islands, they saw the inhabitants of them eating from lacquered
[415] wooden bowls /450/ and quadrangular troughs (1), and just such

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1. Siebold, Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht. tot de ontdekk. van Vries /Geographical and Ethnographical Explanations from the Discoveries by Vries/, P. 108.

bowls, but no earthenware vessels, are among the articles that Poljakof found, besides skulls and bones, in old Ainu graves on
G Sakhalin and presented to our museum. Concerning the ancient
321 Kamchadal, one finds, to be sure, in the report of the Cossack
171 Atlassof published by Witsen (2), the information that they
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2. Noord en Oost Tartarye, ed. of 1705, p. 673.

manufacture for their own use earthenware and wooden vessels, but the former are more than questionable. Steller and
K Krascheninnikof saw only wooden vessels among them, and
[172] Ditmar (3), while digging on the sites where their yurts had once

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3. "Reisen und Aufenthalt in Kamschatka in den Jahren 1851-1855 /Travels and Residence in Kamchatka in 1851-1855/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, third series, Vol. VII, p. 246).

stood, only once found, among numerous stone tools, a small piece of earthenware, which crumbled in his hands because it had not been fired, or at most only slightly, and which he thought was a Train-Oil lamp Shaped by hand.

4. Op. Cit., P. 184.

/453 cont./

361 133 of only a double coastal stretch running along the west and the east of the island and elongated at the southern end by its bifurcation for a considerable section. Living on the sea everywhere, the 226 262 [361] Ainu also draw from it their principal food. As among the Gilyak, this consists of fish, and, to be sure, it is again the salmon, and in part even the same species, Salmo lagocephalus and S. proteus, which play the principal role, since, entering even the small coastal rivers in large numbers, they provide the material for the preparation of the winter stores of jukola and train oil. To no less a degree, the herring that at times go along the coast in large schools and enter the bays and inlets are of the greatest significance. 226 648 464 The extraordinary abundance of fish on these coasts is, incidentally, also utilized by the Japanese, and, to be sure, this happened at the time of my travels in the Amur region, when southern Sakhalin was still under Japanese rule, inasmuch as, greatly to the disadvantage of the Ainu, they were forced to do the fishing for the Japanese, and while the latter, in addition to the train oil prepared on the spot of the catch, sent whole shiploads of fish to their homeland, where it was chiefly used as fertilizer for the soil, the Ainu found themselves unable to provide for their own needs by preparing a sufficient winter supply (1). Next to fish the

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1. Concerning this exploitation of the Ainu by the Japanese, see pp. 152-156 above. It was no longer possible to this extent after the Japanese gave up Sakhalin by the treaty of 1875. While their fishing on the coasts of Sakhalin did not stop because of it, and, indeed, they extended it even farther northward, up to Nyi at the mouth of the Tymy, where Poljakof met them in 1881, nevertheless they no longer used the Ainu, but Japanese workers in the fishing (Poliakov", Putesh. na ostr. Sakhalin" v" 1881-1882 gg. Supplement to Vol. XIX of Izv. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., pp. 69 ff.).

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Rinsô also heard a very similar account concerning the Sakhalin Ainu, for upon further investigation of the subject, which he undertook among "dignified men fully acquainted with the facts," four old men 70-75 years old (whose names he mentions), he learned the following. "In their youth," they related, "in Najoro there was a chief /621/ named Jajebirakan, a very hot-tempered and evil man, who had the Smerenkur and Santaner (Gilyak and Olcha) belonging to the Manchu killed when they came to trade and confiscated the trade goods that they brought with them. Some of them, however, had fortunately escaped and took their complaints to the Manchu in Deren. In the following year three Manchu boats manned by Santaner and Smerenkur came and captured those who had participated in the atrocity, as well as some of the chiefs of the surrounding villages, because they had not come to the assistance of the unfortunate Smerenkur and Santaner. The prisoners offered to give all of their possessions as atonement, and the Manchu finally accepted this, but Jakebirakan's crime was too great to let him off with such a punishment; they therefore took his two sons with them as hostages and stipulated that the Kraftoër (Sakhalin-Ainu) would have to declare themselves subject to the Manchu and in the future deliver to them in Deren an annual tribute consisting of furs, in return for which they would receive a gift and the rest of the trade goods at moderate prices and they would be assured of protection against any mistreatment upon their arrival in Deren. From this time on, after the two sons of the chief were taken as hostages to Manchu-Tartary, it became customary for the Manchu to take along with them the sons or siblings of those who are unable to pay their debt. Since the Kraftoër now paid their tribute punctually every year, the hostages were returned and appointed harata and kasinta by the Manchu and given written directives." Rinsô saw these documents still preserved by Jajenkur, the chief of Najoro, but was unable to read them because they were written in the

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A /621 cont./
175 Manchu language. Rinsô continues his report, "The successors
648 of those first harata and kasinta, accompanied by other natives,
439 from then on annually brought the designated gifts to the officials
622 in Deren. Even today, the most intelligent and most suitable of the natives on the island are appointed as harata and kasinta by the Manchu. Their number is now limited to eight: one harata, in Najoro, and seven kasinta, three of whom are on the west coast and four on the east coast (their names and their places of residence, which are all in the Ainu area, follow). Several years ago, because the furs on Krafto became rarer, the chiefs brought their gifts to Deren only every three years, and with an even greater decline, only every four or five years. But then the Manchu had the stipulated gifts collected by the Santaner, and, as a consequence, this year the kasinta of Usijoro, Najoro, and Raitsiska personally brought the gifts to Deren." Rinsô met these people on their journey there and asked them about the manner in which the gifts were offered. They confirmed for him that the gift consisted of a black sea-otter fur, and at the same time disclosed to him that the Manchu officials had taken it amiss that they had failed to deliver the gifts for a few years and had pointed out to them that in the future they should better appreciate the favor that they had received from the Manchu and should be more careful about bringing the stipulated gifts.

G. /622/ It was approximately in the middle of the previous
Gi century, according to these reports, that the Manchu, who had
A formerly come to Sakhalin only to trade, expanded their tributary
175 relationships with the peoples of the lower Amur region,
648 among them the Olcha and Gilyak, to include the Sakhalin
439 Gilyak and the Sakhalin Ainu as well, in that at various places
622 there, too, they appointed chiefs or elders and imposed upon them the obligation of bringing to them at Deren an annual tribute of furs -- an obligation which, to be sure, was not always punctually observed, but was still in full force in Mamia Rinsô's
G. time. A few facts noted by European travelers may be cited
Gi to confirm these statements, quite credible in themselves,
A by the, as already noted several times above, extremely accurate
[114] and reliable Japanese traveler.

2: Schrenck--976 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Ainu AB6

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and reliable Japanese traveler. Krusenstern (1), for instance,

1. Reise um die Welt /Voyage around the World/, Vol. II, p. 176.

reported that when he met the Gilyak ("Tatars") in Nadeshda Bay, near the northern tip of Sakhalin (1805) -- as was pointed out above (p. 467), it was probably in the village of Ngywr-wo -- one of them was distinguished from the rest by his clothing, which was a red silk robe of Chinese cut, with gold flowers interwoven in it, and "without doubt" was their chief -- evidently, therefore, one of those harata or kasinta appointed by the Manchu and mentioned by Mamia Rinsô. Of far greater importance, however, is a second, very definite sounding report which we owe to Fr. Schmidt (2). In 1860, in Najoro, he

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2. "Histor. Bericht," etc., p. 94.

became acquainted with one of the most distinguished Ainu, the aged Ssetakurero, upon whom, as an Ainu elder, the Japanese had conferred a saber. He still had in his keeping a document written in the Manchu language, which his father had received at one time from the Manchu superiors on the occasion of a tribute journey to Ssan-ssin on the Sungari, and through which he was appointed an elder of the Ainu. By means of this report the accuracy of Mamia Rinsô's statements concerning the tributary obligations of the Ainu to the Manchu at that time and the manner in which they had to be met is placed beyond any doubt. But I cannot refrain from expressing the conjecture that on the basis of the above report there was some misunderstanding on the part of the reporter or the listener with regard to the place to which Ssetakurero's father made his tribute journey, in that this journey was not made to Ssan-ssin on the Sungari, but, as must be assumed from the dates, to Deren on the Amur. Such a misunderstanding could arise all the more easily since Ssetakurero, according to his own words, had himself never been in Manchu country.

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2: Schrenck--1184 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Ainu AB6

G /734 cont./
*796 northern part of the Sea of Japan, the Sea of Okhotsk, and in the
184 Tymv Valley, as a result of their greater remoteness and poorer circumstances, as well as their smaller and less suitable dwellings, the bear festival has remained far behind the development that it reached among their fellow-tribesmen on the Amur, where on such occasions inhabitants of various, sometimes even remote villages flock together, and animated life and activity prevail among them, and that therefore it does not have nearly as much social significance among the former as among the latter.

A /735/ For the purpose of comparison let us now cast a
175 glance at the bear festival of the Ainu of Sakhalin and Jesso /Yesso/.
796 Isolated reports about it reach back to the seventeenth century and in the Japanese literature perhaps even much further. Detailed
A accounts of the whole festival have been given by Dr. B. Scheube
796 with regard to the Ainu of Jesso (1) and by Messrs. Rudanofskij (2)
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1. Dr. B. Scheube, "Bärenkultus und Bärenfeste der Aino /The Bear Cult and Bear Festival of the Ainu/" (Das Ausland, 1881, No. 16, pp. 303-308, from the Mittheil. der deutsch. Gesellsch. für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, 1880, No. 22.

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2. See P. Tikhmenov", Istor. obozr. obraz. Rossiisko-amerik. Kompanii /Historical Review of the Founding of the Russo-American Company/, St. Petersburg, 1863, Pt. II, pp. 125-127.

and Busse (3) with regard to those of Sakhalin. The former attended

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3. N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853-54 gg. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1853-54/, St. Petersburg, 1872, pp. 54-57.